A SURVEY OF THE Estate of France,

AND

Of some of the adjoyning ILANDS:

TAKEN

In the Description of the principal Cities, and chief Provinces; with, The *Temper*, *Humor* and *Affections* of the People generally; And an exact accompt of the Publick Government in reference to the *Court*, the *Church*, and the *Civill State*.

By *PETER HEYLYN*.

Published according to the Authors own Copy, and with his consent, for preventing of all False, Imperfect, and Surreptitious Impressions of it.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *Henry Seile*, and are to be sold at his Shop over against St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleetstreet*, M. DC. LVI.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Lord Marquesse

OF

DORCHESTER.

I Here present unto your Lordship the *Fruits*, if not the Follies also, of my younger daies, not published now, if the audaciousnesse of some others had not made that *necessary* which in my own

thoughts was eſteemed *unſeaſonable*. The reaſons why I have no ſooner publiſhed theſe Relations, and thoſe which have inforced me to do it now, are laid down in the following Preface, ſufficient (as I hope) both to excuſe and juſtifie me with ingenuous men. But for my boldneſſe in giving them the countenance of your Lordſhips name, I ſhall not ſtudy other reaſons then a deſire to render to your Lordſhip ſome acknowledgement of thoſe many fair expreſſions of eſteem and favour, which your Lordſhip from my firſt coming to *Weſtminſter*, hath vouchſafed unto me. Your known abilities in moſt parts of learning, together with the great reſpects you have for thoſe which pretend unto it, enclined you to embrace ſuch opinion of me, as was more anſwerable to your

own

own goodneſſe then to my deſert, and to cheriſh in me thoſe Proficiencies, which were more truly in your ſelf. And for my part, I alwaies looked upon your Lordſhip as a true Son of the Church of *England*, devoted zealouſly to her Forms of worſhip, the orthodoxies of her Doctrine, and the Apoſtoliciſm of her Government; which makes me confident that theſe pieces will not prove unwelcome to you, in which the ſuperſtitions & innovations of the two oppoſite parties, are with an equal hand laid open to your Lordſhips view. Nor ſhall you find in theſe Relations, ſuch matters of compliance only with your Lordſhip in point of Judgement, as promiſe ſatisfaction unto your intellectuall, and more noble parts; but many things which may afford you entertainments of a different

nature, when you are either ſpent with ſtudy, or wearied with affairs of more near importance. For here you have the principalleſt Cities and faireſt Provinces of *France* preſented in as lively colours, as my unpoliſhed hand could give them; the Temper, Humour and Affections of the People, generally deciphered with a free and impartial Pen; the publick Government of the whole, in reference to the Court, the Church, and the Civil State, deſcribed more punctually then ever heretofore in the *Engliſh* Tongue; ſome obſervations intermingled of more ancient learning, but pertinent and proper to the buſineſſe which I had in hand. You have here ſuch an accompt alſo of ſome of the adjoyning Iſlands (the only remainders of our Rights in the Dukedome of *Normandy*)

mandy) that your Lordſhip may finde cauſe to wonder, how I could ſay ſo much on ſo ſmall a ſubject, if the great alterations which have hapned there in bringing in and working out the *Genevian Diſcipline*, had not occaſioned theſe enlargements. Such as it is, it is ſubmitted with that Reverence to your Lordſhips Judgement, which beſt becometh

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt humble

And moſt devoted Servant,

Pet. Heylyn.

The Authors Preface to the Reader.

IT may ſeem ſtrange unto the Reader, that after ſo large a volume of *Coſmography*, in which the world was made the ſubject of my Travels, I ſhould deſcend unto the publiſhing of theſe *Relations*, which point at the eſtate only of ſome neighbouring places: or that in theſe declining times of my life and fortunes, I ſhould take pleaſure in communicating ſuch *Compoſitions*, as were the products of my youth, and therefore probably not able to endure the cenſure of ſeverer age. And to ſay truth, there are ſome things in this *publication*, whereof I think my ſelf obliged to give an account to him that ſhall read theſe papers, as well for his ſatisfaction as mine own diſcharge; as namely touching the occaſion of theſe ſeveral Journeys, my different manner of proceeding in theſe Relations, the reaſons why not publiſhed ſooner, and the impulſions which have moved me to produce them now. I.

For the two firſt, the Reader may be pleaſed to know, that as I undertook the firſt Journey, in the company of a private friend, only to ſatisfie my ſelf in taking a brief view of the pleaſures and delights of *France*; ſo having pleaſed my II.

ſelf in the ſight thereof, and in the obſervation of ſuch things as were moſt conſiderable, I reſolved to give my ſelf the pleaſure of making ſuch a character and deſcription of them, as were then moſt agreeable to my preſent humour, at what time both my wits and fancies (if ever I was maſter of any) were in their predominancy. I was then free from all engagements, depending meerly on my ſelf, not having faſtned my relations upon any one man, in order to my future preferment in Church or State, and therefore thought of nothing elſe then a ſelf-complacency, and the contentment of indulging to mine own affections. This made me to take that liberty in deciphering the tempers, humours, and behaviours of the *French* Nation generally, which to a grave judgement may ſeem too luxuriant, and to have more in it of the *Satyriſt*, then is conſiſtent with an equall and impartiall character. But in the midſt of ſo much folly (if the Reader ſhall vouchſafe it no better name) there is ſuch a mixture of more ſerious matters, as makes the temperature of the whole be more delightfull; according to that ſaying of *Horace* in his Book *de Arte Poetica*:

Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci.

That is to ſay,

He hits on every point aright,
Who mingleth profit with delight.

III. The other Journey being undertaken almoſt four years after, in attendance on the Earl of *Danby*, is faſhioned

fashioned after a more serious and solemn manner. I had then began to apply my self to the Lord Bishop of *London*, and was resolved to present the work to him, when it was once finished, and therefore was to frame my style agreeably unto the gravity and composednesse of so great a Prelate. My design was to let him see in the whole body and contexture of that discourse, that I was not altogether uncapable of managing such publick businesse, as he might afterwards think fit to entrust me with; and it succeeded so well with me, that within a short time after he recommended me unto his Majesty for a Chaplain in ordinary, and by degrees employed me in affairs of such weight and moment, as rendred my service not unusefull to the Church and State; however mistaken by some men, who think all matters ill conducted, which either passe not through their own hands, or are not managed by their sinister and precipitate counsels. This makes the style and language of the second Journey to be so different from the first. The indiscretion would have been impardonable, if I had come before such a person in so light a garb, as might have given him a just occasion to suppose, that I had too much of the Antick, and might be rather serviceable to his recreations, then to be honoured with employments of more weight and consequence.

If it be asked, why these Relations were not published assoon as they passed my hands, and might be thought more seasonable, then they are at this present; the Answer in a manner may prevent the question. The last discourse, being written, and intended purposely as a Present to that great Prelate whom before I spoke of, could not with any fitnesse, be communicated to the IV.

publick view without his consent. For having tendred it unto him, it was no more mine, and not being mine, I had no reason to dispose otherwise of it, as long as the property thereof was vested in him by mine own free act. But he being laid to sleep in the bed of peace, I conceive my self to have gotten such a second right therein, as the *Granter* hath many times in Law, when there is no Heir left of the *Grantee* to enjoy the gift, and consequently to lay any claim unto it. And being resolved, upon the reasons hereafter following, to publish the first of these two Journals, I thought it not amisse to let this also wait upon it, second in place, as it had been second in performance and course of time.

V. So for the first Journey, being digested and committed unto writing for mine own contentment, without the thought of pleasing any body else; the keeping of it by me did as much conduce to the end proposed, as if it had been published to the view of others. And I had still satisfied my self in enjoying that end, if the importunity of friends (who were willing to put themselves to that charge and trouble) had not drawn some copies of it from me. By means whereof it came unto more hands then I ever meant it, and at the last into such hands, by which it would have been presented to the publick view without my consent; and that too with such faults and errors, as *Transcripts* of necessity must be subject to when not compared with the Original, or perused by the Author. And had it hapned so, as it was like enough to happen, and hath hapned since, the faults and errors of the Copy, as well as of the Presse, would have passed for mine; and I must have been thought accomptable for those

transs-

tranſgreſſions which the ignorance and unadviſedneſſe of other men would have drawn upon me. And yet there was ſome other reaſon, which made the publiſhing of that Journal when firſt finiſhed by me, not ſo fit nor ſafe, nor ſo conducible to ſome ends, which I had in view. I had before app'yed my ſelf unto his Majeſty, when Prince of *Wales*, by Dedicating to him the firſt Eſſayes of my *Coſmographie*; and thereby opened for my ſelf a paſſage into the Court, whenſoever I ſhould have a minde to look that way. And at the time when I had finiſhed theſe *Relations*, the *French* party there were as conſiderable for their number, as it was afterwards for their power: and the diſcourſe faſhioned with ſo much liberty, and touching (as it might be thought) with ſo much *Gayete de coeur* upon the humours of that people, might have procured me no good welcome; and proved but an unhandſome harbinger, to take up any good lodging for me in that place, when either my ſtudies ſhould enable, or my ambition prompt me to aſpire unto it. Which cauſes being now removed, I conceive the time to be more ſeaſonable now, then it was at the firſt, and that theſe papers may more confidently walk the open ſtreets, without giving any juſt offence to my ſelf or others.

For though perhaps it may be ſaid, that I have made too bold with the *French*, and that my character of that people, hath too much of the *Satyriſt* in it, as before was intimated; yet I conceive that no ſober minded man either of that Nation or of this, will finde himſelf aggrieved at my freedome in it. The *French* and other forein Nations make as bold with us, not ſparing to lay open our wants and weakneſſes, even VI.

without occaſion; and offering them by ſuch multiplying Glaſſes to the ſight of others, as render them far greater then indeed they are. Men of facetious fancies and ſcoffing wits (as the *French* generally are) muſt not expect to be alwaies on the offering hand, but be content to take ſuch money as they uſe to give; there would be elſe no living neer them, or converſing with them. *Hanc veniam petimuſq; damuſq; viciſsim*, in the Poets language. Beſides the reader muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the inclinations of nature, and corruptions in manners. Natural inclinations may be deſcribed under a free and liberal character, without any wrong unto the Nations which are ſo deſcribed: nor is it more to the diſhonour of the *French*, to ſay that they are airy, light, *Mercurial*, aſſoon loſt as found; then to the *Spaniard*, to be accounted ſlow, and *Saturnine*, lofty and proud, even in the loweſt ebb of a beggerly fortune. The temperature of the ſoyle and air, together with the influences of the heavenly bodies, occaſion that variety of temper and affections in all different Nations, which can be no reproach unto them, when no corruption of manners, no vice in matter of morality is charged upon them. *Hinc illa ab antiquo vitia, et patriæ ſorte durantia, quæ totas in hiſtoriis gentes aut commendant aut notant*, ſaith a modern but judicious Author. The preſent *French* had not been elſe ſo like the *Galls* in the *Roman* ſtories, had not thoſe influences, and other naturall cauſes before remembred, produced the ſame natural inclinations, and impulſions in them, as they had effected in the other; their own *Du Bartæs* ſaith as much touching this particular, as he is thus tranſlated by *Joſuah Sylveſter*.

O see how full of wonders strange is nature,
Sith in each climate, *not alone in stature,*
Strength, colour, hair; but that men differ do
Both in their humours, and their manners too.

The Northern *man is fair,* the Southern *foul;*
That's white, this black, that smiles & this doth scowl.
The one blithe and frolick, the other dull & froward,
The one full of courage, the other a fearful coward.

Much lesse would I be thought injurious to the female sex, though I have used the like freedome in my character of them. I doubt not but there are amongst them, many gallant women, of most exemplary virtue, and unquestioned chastity; and I believe the greatest part are such indeed, though their behaviour at first sight might, to a man untravelled, perswade the contrary. But general characters are to be fitted to the temper and condition of a people generally, unto the *Genera singulorum*, as *Logicians* phrase it, though possibly (as there are few general Rules without some exceptions) many particular persons both of rank and merit, may challenge an exemption from them: VII.

Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.

To whom the heavens have made a brest
Of choicer metall then the rest.

And it is possible enough I might have been more sparing of that liberty which I then gave unto my self, were there occasion to make a second character of them

them at this preſent time; or had I not thought fit to have offered this diſcourſe without alteration, as it firſt iſſued from my pen. Our *Engliſh* women at that time were of a more retired behaviour then they have been ſince, which made the confident carriage of the *French Damoſels*, ſeem more ſtrange unto me, whereas of late the garbe of our women is ſo altered, and they have ſo much in them of the mode of *France*, as eaſily might take off thoſe miſapprehenſions, with which I was really poſſeſſed at my firſt coming thither. So much doth cuſtome alter the true face of things, that it makes many things approvable, which at the firſt appeared unſightly.

VIII. In the next place it may be ſaid that this ſhort Journall deſerves not to be called *A SURVEY OF THE STATE OF FRANCE*, conſidering that it only treateth of ſome particular Provinces, and of ſuch Towns and Cities only in thoſe Provinces, as came within the compaſſe of a perſonal view. But then it may be ſaid withall, that theſe four Provinces which I paſſed thorow, and deſcribe, may be conſidered as the *Epitome* of the whole, the abſtract or compendium of the Body of *France*: the Iſle of *France* being looked on as the mother of *Paris*, *Picardie* as the chiefeſt *Granary*, and *La Beauſe* as the nurſe thereof; as *Normandy* is eſteemed for the Bulwark of all *France* it ſelf by reaſon of that large Sea-coaſt, and well fortified Havens, wherewith it doth confront the *Engliſh*. And if the rule be true in *Logick* (as I think it is) that a Denomination may be taken from the nobler parts; then certainly a *Survey* of theſe four Provinces, the nobleſt and moſt conſiderable parts of all that Kingdome, may be entituled without any abſurdity the Survey of *France*.

For

For beſides that which hath been ſpoken, it was in theſe four Provinces that *Henry* the 4. did lay the ſcene of his long war againſt the *Leaguers*, as if in keeping them aſſured or ſubjected to him the ſafety of the whole Kingdome did conſiſt eſpecially. For though the war was carried into moſt other Provinces as the neceſſity of affairs required, yet it was managed in thoſe Provinces by particular parties. Neither the King himſelf, nor the Duke of *Mayenne* (the heads of the contending Armies) did act any thing in them except ſome light velitations in *Champagne*, and one excurſion into *Burgundie*; the whole deciſion of the quarrels, depending principally, if not wholly, in the getting of theſe. The Duke of *Parma* had not elſe made ſo long a march from the Court of *Bruxels*, to raiſe the Kings Army from the ſiege of *Roven*; nor had the King muſtered up all his wit and power to recover *Amiens*, when dexterouſly ſurprized by a *Spaniſh* ſtratagem. And if it be true, which the *French* generally affirm of *Paris*, that it is the Eye, nay the very Soul of all *France* it ſelf; I may with confidence affirm, that I have given more ſight to that Eye, more life and ſpirit to that Soul, then hath been hitherto communicated in the Engliſh Tongue. The Realm of *France* ſurveyed in the four principal Provinces, and the chief Cities of the whole, gives a good colour to the *title*, and yet the title hath more colour to inſiſt upon, then the deſcription of theſe Cities, and thoſe principal Provinces, can contribute towards it. For though I have deſcribed thoſe four Provinces only in the way of Chorography, yet I have took a general and *a full Survey of the State of* France, in reference to the Court, the Church, and the Civil State, which are the three

main limbs of all *Bodies Politick*, and took it in so full a manner, as I think none, and am assured that very few have done before me.

IX. If it be said that my stay was not long enough to render me exact and punctual in my observations: I hope it will be said withall, that the lesse my stay was, my diligence must be the greater, and that I husbanded my time to the best advantage. For knowing that we could not stay there longer, then our money lasted, and that we carried not the wealth of the *Indies* with us, I was resolved to give my self as little rest, as the necessities of nature could dispense withall; and so to work my self into the good opinions of some principal persons of that nation, who were best able to inform me, as might in short space furnish me with such instructions, as others with a greater expence both of time and money could not so readily attain. By this accommodating of my self unto the humours of some men, and a resolution not to be wanting to that curiosity which I carryed with me, there was nothing which I desired to know (and there was nothing which I desired not to know) but what was readily imparted to me both with love and chearfulnesse. *Cur nescire pudens prave quam discere mallem?* I alwaies looked upon it as a greater shame to be ignorant of any thing, then to be taught by any body; and therefore made such use of men of both Religions, as were most likely to acquaint me with the counsels of their severall parties. Nor was I purse-bound when I had occasion to see any of those Rarities, Reliques, and matters of more true antiquity, which either their Religious Houses, Churches, Colledges, yea, or the Court it self could present unto me. Money is never better

spent,

ſpent then wen it is layed out in the buying of knowledge.

In the laſt place it may be ſaid that many things have hapned both in the Court and State of *France*, many great revolutions and alterations in the face thereof, ſince I digeſted the Relation of this Journey for my own contentment; which makes this publication the more unſeaſonable, and my conſent unto it ſubject to the greater cenſure: which notwithſtanding I conceive that the diſcourſe will be as uſefull to the ingenuous Reader, as if it had gone ſheet by ſheet from the *Pen* to the *Preſſe*, and had been offered to him in that point of time when it took life from me. The learned labours of *Pauſanias* in his Chorography of *Greece*, are as delightful now to the ſtudious Reader, as formerly to the beſt wits of *Rome* or *Athens*. Nor need we doubt, but that the deſcription of the *Netherlands* by *Lewis Guicciardine*, and of the Iſles of *Britain* by our famous *Camden*, will yeeld as great profit and contentment to future Ages, as to the men that knew the Authors. The Realm of *France* is ſtill the ſame, the temperature of the air and ſoyl the ſame, the humours and affections of the people ſtill the ſame; the Fractions of the Church as great, the Government as Regal or deſpotical now, as when the Author was amongſt them. The Cities ſtand in the ſame places which before they ſtood in, and the Rivers keep the ſame channels which before they had, no alteration in the *natural* parts of that great body, and not much in the *politick* neither. The change which ſince hath hapned by the Death of the King, being rather in the perſon of the Prince, then the form of Government. Affairs of State then managed by a Queen-

X.

Mother, and a Cardinal favourite, as they are at this preſent. The King in his Majority then, but not much verſed or ſtudied in his own concernments, as he is at this preſent; the Realm divided then into parties and factions (though not into the ſame factions) as it is at this preſent; and finally, the *Engliſh* then in as high eſteem, by reaſon of the alliance then newly made between the Princes, as they can poſſibly be now, by reaſon of the late concluded peace betwixt the Nations. Nor hath there hapned any thing not reconcilable to the preſent times, but the almoſt miraculous birth of the King and his Brother after 20 years barrenneſſe, and the mariage of the Monſieur with *Montpenſiers* Daughter, contrary to the generall expectation of all that people, and for the firſt (I think I may be bold to ſay) of the world beſides.

XII. Theſe reaſons as they may excuſe this publication, in reference to the work it ſelf, ſo there is one which ſerves to juſtifie it in reſpect of the Author; that is to ſay, the manifeſting of this truth to all which ſhall peruſe theſe papers, that he is ſtill of the ſame Judgement, and opinion in matters of Religion, Gods worſhip, and the government of holy Church, of which he was 30 years agoe, when the Relation of the firſt Journey was faſhioned by him; that he hath ſtood his ground in all thoſe revolutions both of Church and State, which have hapned ſince; that he now holds no other *Tenets*, then thoſe to which he hath been principled by education, and confirmed by ſtudy; and finally that ſuch opinions as he holds, be they right or wrong, he brought to the Court with him, and took not from thence. So that whatſoever

other

other imputation may be charged upon him, he cannot be accuſed for a time-ſerver, but alwaies conſtant to himſelf, in all times the ſame; *Qualis ab incepto proceſſerit*, in the Poets language, the ſame man then as now without alteration. Compare my late book upon the *Creed*, with theſe preſent *Journals*, and it will eaſily be ſeen, that in all points wherein I have occaſion to declare my Judgement, I am nothing altered; that neither the temptations of preferment, nor that great turn both in the publick and my own affairs which hath hapned ſince, have made me other then I was at the very firſt.

It's true in reading over theſe papers as they were ſent to the Preſſe, I found ſome things which I could willingly have rectified as they paſſed my hands; but that I choſe rather to let them go with ſome *Petit errors*, then alter any thing in the Copy, which might give any the leaſt occaſion to this miſconceit, that the work went not to the Preſſe, as it came from my pen, but was corrected by the line and levell of my preſent Judgement. And for ſuch *petit errors*, as then ſcaped my hands, being they are but *petit errors*, they may the more eaſily be pardoned by ingenuous men. But howſoever being *errors*, though but *petit* errors, I hold it neceſſary to correct them, and ſhall correct them in this order as they come before me. XIII.

Normandy bounded on the South with L' Iſle de France] Not with the *Iſle of France* diſtinctly and properly ſo called, occaſioned by the circlings of the *Seine* and the *Marne*, in which *Paris* ſtandeth; but by that part of *France*, which is called commonly *France Special*, or the *Proper France*, as being the firſt fixed ſeat of the *French* Nation, after their firſt en- P. 4. l. 27.

trance into *Gaul*; which notwithstanding may in some sense, be called the Isle of *France* also, because environed on all sides with some river or other, that is to say, with the *Velle* on the East, the *Eure* on the West, the *Oise* on the North, and a vein Riveret of the *Seine* on the South parts of it.

P. 5. l. 10. *The name* Neustria] Not named so in the time of the *Romans*, when it was reckoned for a part of *Gallia Celtica*, as the words not well distinguished do seem to intimate; but when it was a part of the *French* Empire, and then corruptly so called for *Westria*, signifying the West parts thereof: the name of *Westria* or *Westenrick*, being given by some to this part of the Realm of *West France*, as that of *Austria* or *Ostenric* to a part of East *France*.

Ibid. l. 17. *By the permission of* Charles the Bald] Not so, but by the sufferance of *Charles* the *Simple*, a weaker Prince, and far lesse able to support the Majesty of a King of *France*. For though the *Normans* ransacked the Sea coasts of this Countrey during the reign of *Charles* the *Bald*, which lasted from the year 841 to the year 879. yet *Charles* the *Bald* was not so simple nor so ill advised, as to give them livery and seisin of so large a Province. That was a businesse fit for none but *Charles* the *SIMPLE*, who began his reign in the year 900. and unto him the words foregoing would direct the Reader, where it is thus told us of these *Normans*, *anno* 900. they first seated themselves in *France*, &c. which relates plainly to the reign of *Charles* the *Simple*, in the beginning whereof they first setled here, though *Rollo* their chief Captain was not honoured with the title of Duke of *Normandy* untill 12 years after.

For

For the most part of a light and sandy mould] mistaken in the print for a *light* and handy, that is to say, of a more easie tillage, then the rest of those Kingdomes. Which words though positively true of the Countrey of *Norfolk*, are to be understood of *Normandy*, comparatively and respectively to the rest of *France*; for otherwise it would ill agree with the following words, where it is said to *be of a fat and liking soyle*, as indeed it is, though not so fat and deep as the Isle of *France*, *La Beausse*, or many others of the Southern Provinces. P. 7. l. 26.

The French *custome giving to all the sons an equality in the Estate*] which must be understood of the Estates of meaner and inferiour persons, and not of those of eminent, and more noble Families, which have been altered in this point; The Lands and Honours passing undivided to the eldest sons, the better to support the dignity of their place and titles; as many Gentlemen of *Kent* have changed their old tenure by Gavelkinde into Knights service, for the same reason, and obtained severall Acts of Parliament to make good that change. P. 8. l. 27.

For when Meroveus *the Grandchilde of* Pharamond] so he is said to be by *Rusener*, as eldest son of *Clodian* the son of *Pharamond*; but *Paradine*, the best Herald of all the *French*, speaks more doubtfully of him, not knowing whether he were the son or next kinsman of *Clodian*, and others (whose authority I have elsewhere followed) make him to be the Master of the Horse to *Clodian*, whose children he is said to have dispossessed of the Crown, and transferred the same unto himself. P. 34. l. 2

The

P. 125 l. 25. *The reaſon of the name I could not learn amongſt the people*] That is to ſay, not ſuch a reaſon of the name, as I then approved of, my conceit ſtrongly carrying me to the *Bellocaſsi*, whom I would fain have ſetled in the Countrey of *La Beauſe*, and from them derived that name unto it. But ſtronger reaſons ſince have perſwaded the contrary, ſo that leaving the *Bellocaſsi* near *Baieux* in the Dukedome of *Normandie*, we muſt derive the name of *La Beauſe*, and *Belſia*, by which it is ſeverally called by the *French* and *Latines*, from the exceeding beautifulneſſe of that flouriſhing Province, that which the *Latines* call *Bellus* in the Maſculine, and *Bella* in the Feminine Gender, being by the the *French* called *Bell* and *Beau*, as it after followeth.

P. 164. l. 1. Picardie *is divided into the higher, which containeth the Countreys of* Calice *and* Bologne, *&c.*] That *Picardie* is divided into the *higher* and the *lower*, is a Truth well known, though I know not by what negligence of mine they are here miſplaced, that being the lower *Picardie* which lyeth next the ſea containing the Countreys of *Calais*, and *Bologne*, with the Towns of *Abbeville*, and *Monſtreuille*; and that the higher *Picardie*, which liethmore into the Land in which ſtandeth the fair City of *Amiens*, and many other Towns and Territories elſe where deſcribed.

P. 207 l. 38. *Both theſe were born unto the King by Madam* Gabriele *for her excellent beauty ſurnamed* La Belle] Madam *Gabriele* is brought in here before her time, and being left out, the ſenſe will run as currently, but more truly thus. *Both theſe were born unto the King by the Dutch ſſe of* Beaufort, *a Lady whom the King, &c.*

And

And for the children which ſhe brought him, though they are named right, yet (as I have been ſince informed) they are marſhalled wrong, *Caſar* Duke of *Vendoſm* being the eldeſt; not the younger ſon. And as for Madam *Gabriele*, ſhe was indeed the King beſt beloved Concubine, one whom he kept not only for his private chamber, but carried publickly along with him in the courſe of his wars. Inſomuch that when the Duke of *Biron* had beſieged *Amiens* (being then lately ſurprized by the *Spaniards* as before was intimated) and was promiſed ſuccours by the King with all ſpeed that might be; the King at laſt came forwards with Madam *Gabriele*, and a train of Ladies to attend her: which being noted by the Duke, he cryed aloud with a great deal of ſcorn and indignation, *Behold the goodly ſuccours which the King hath brought us.* A Lady in great favour, but in greater power, to whom the character was intended, which by miſtake, is here given to the Dutcheſſe of *Beaufort*, though poſſibly that Dutcheſſe alſo might deſerve part of it.

When the Liturgie was tranſlated into Latine by Doctor Mocket] Not by him firſt tranſlated, as the words may intimate, it having been tranſlated into *Latine* in Queen *Elizabeths* time. But that Edition being worn out, and the Book grown ſcarſe, the Doctor gave it a Review, and cauſed it to be reprinted together with Biſhop *Jewels Apologie*, the Articles of the Church of *England*, the Doctrinal points delivered in the Book of *Homilies*, with ſome other pieces, which being ſo reviewed and publiſhed, gave that contentment to many ſober minded men of the *Romiſh* party which is after mentioned. P. 243. l. 1.

XIV. In the Relation of the ſecond Journey, I finde no miſtakes, requiring any Animadverſions, as written in a riper judgement, and with greater care, becauſe intended to a perſon of ſuch known abilities. Nor was I leſſe diligent in gathering the materials for it, then carefull that it might be free from miſtakes and errors; not only informing my ſelf punctually in all things which concerned theſe Iſlands, by perſons of moſt knowledge and experience, in the affairs and ſtate of either, but with mine own hand copying out ſome of their Records, many whole Letters from the Councel and Court of *England*, the whole body of the *Genevian* Diſcipline obtruded on both Iſlands by *Snape* and *Cartwright*, the Canons recommended by King *James* to the Iſle of *Jarſey*, beſides many papers of leſſe bulk and conſequence, out of all which I have ſo enlarged that diſcourſe, that if it be not μέγιστον ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, it comes very near it. Certain I am that here is more delivered of the affairs of theſe Iſlands and on their accompt, then all the Authors which have ever written of them being layed together, can amount unto. For in purſuance of this part, I have took a *full ſurvey* of thoſe Iſlands which I went to viſit, together with ſuch alterations in Religion as have hapned there, both when they were under the Popes of *Rome*, and the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, as ſince they have diſcharged themſelves from the power of both. The Reformation there being modelled according to the *Genevian* Platform, occaſioned me to ſearch into the beginning, growth, and progreſſe of the *Presbyterian* government with the ſetling of it in theſe Iſlands; together with the whole body of that Diſcipline as it was there ſet-

led,

led, and some short observations on the text thereof, the better to lay open the novelty, absurdity, and ill consequents of it. That done I have declared by what means and motives the Isle of *Jarsey* was made conformable in point of discipline and devotion to the Church of *England*, and given the Reader a full view of that body of Canons which was composed and confirmed for regulating the affairs thereof in sacred matters; and after a short application tending to the advancement of my main design, do conclude the whole.

Lastly, I am to tell the Reader, that though I was chiefly drawn to publish these *Relations* at this present time, for preventing all impressions of them, by any of those false copies which are got abroad; yet I am given to understand, that the first is coming out (if not out already) under the Title of *France painted out to the life:* but *painted* by so short a *Pensil*, as makes it want much of that *life* which it ought to have. By whom and with what *colour* that piece is *painted* thus without my consent, I may learn hereafter. In the mean time, whether that Piece be printed with, or without my name unto it, I must protest against the wrong, and disclaim the work, as printed by a false and imperfect copy, deficient in some whole Sections, the distribution of the books and parts, not kept according to my minde and method, destitute also of those *Explications* and *Corrections*, which I have given unto it on my last perusal in this general Preface; and finally containing but one half of the work which is here presented. Faults and infirmities I have too many of mine own, *Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur*, as we know who said; and therefore would not charge my

ſelf with thoſe imperfections, thoſe frequent errors and miſtakes which the audaciouſneſſe of other men may obtrude upon me: which having ſignified to the Reader, for the detecting of this impoſture, and mine own diſcharge, I recommend the following work to his favourable cenſure, and both of us to the mercies of the Supreme Judge.

Lacies Court in *Abingdon*,
April 17. 1656.

Books lately printed and reprinted for *Henry Seile*.

Doctor *Heylyn's Coſmography*, in fol.
Twenty Sermons of Dr. *Sanderſon's*, *ad Aulam*, *&c.* never till now publiſhed.
Dr. *Heylyn's* Comment on the Apoſtles Creed, in fol.
Biſhop *Andrewes* holy Devotions, the 4 Edition, in 12.
Martiall in 12. for the uſe of *Weſtminſter* School.
John Willis his Art of Stenography or Short writing, by ſpelling Charactery, in 8. the 14 Edition: together with the Schoolmaſter to the ſaid Art.

SYLLABUS CAPITUM:

OR,

The Contents of the Chapters.

NORMANDIE;

OR,

THE FIRST BOOK.

The Entrance.

THe *beginning of our Journey. The nature of the Sea. A fare-well to* England.

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OR,

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in

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GUERN-

GUERNZEY and JARSEY;

OR,

THE SIXTH BOOK.

The Entrance.

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of

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THE RELATION Of the FIRST JOURNEY: CONTAINING A SURVEY of the STATE OF FRANCE.

TAKING IN

The Descriptiion of the principal Provinces, and chief Cities of it; The Temper, Humors and Affections of the people generally; And an exact account of the Publick Government, in reference to the *Court*, the *Church* and the *Civil State*.

By *PET. HEYLYN.*

London, Printed 1656.

THE RELATION OF POETRY TO PHILOSOPHY

A SERVICE of STATE

BY PLATO

The Discipline of Perception

A SURVEY OF THE STATE of FRANCE.

NORMANDY; OR, *THE FIRST BOOK.*

The Entrance.

The beginning of our Journey. The nature of the Sea. A farewell to England.

ON Tuesday the 28 of *June*, just at the time when *England* had received the chief beauty of *France*, and the *French* had seen the choise beauties of *England*; we went to Sea in a Bark of *Dover*. The Port we aimed at, *Dieppe* in *Normandy*. The hour three in the afternoon. The winde faire and high, able, had it continued in

that point, to have given us a waſtage as ſpeedy as our longings. Two hours before night it came about to the Weſtward, and the tide alſo not befriending us, our paſſage became tedious and troubleſome. The next day being dedicated to the glory of God in the memory of St. *Peter*, we took the benefit of the ebb to aſſiſt us againſt the wind; this brought us out of the ſight of *England*, and the floud enſuing compelled us to our Anchor.

I had now leaſure to ſee Gods wonders in the deep; wonders indeed to us which had never before ſeen them: but too much familiarity had made them no other then the Sailers playfellowes. The waves ſtriving by an imbred ambition which ſhould be higheſt, which formoſt. Precedencie and ſupereminencie was equally deſired, and each enjoyed it in ſucceſſion. The winde more covetous in appearance, to play with the water, then diſturb it, did only rock the billow, and ſeemed indeed to dandle the Ocean: you would at an other time have thought that the ſeas had only danced to the winds whiſtle; or that the Winde ſtraining it ſelf to a Treble, and the Seas by a Diapaſon, ſupplying the Baſe, had tuned a *Caranto* to our ſhip. For ſo orderly they roſe and fell according to the time and note of the Billow, that her violent agitation might be imagined to be nothing but a nimble Galliard filled with Capers. This nimbleneſſe of the waves and correſpondency of our Bark unto them, was not to all our company alike pleaſing: what in me moved only a reverend and awfull pleaſure, was to others an occaſion of ſickneſſe, their heads gidie, their joynts enfeebled, their ſtomachs loathing ſuſtenance, and with great pangs avoiding what they had taken; in their mouths nothing might have been ſo frequent as that of *Horace*,

Illi robur & æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commiſit pelago ratem.

Hard was his heart, as braſſe, which firſt did venture
In a weak ſhip, on the rough Seas to enter.

Whether

Whether it be, that the noiſome ſmels, which ariſe from the ſaltneſſe and tartneſſe of that region of waters, poyſoneth the brain; or that the ungoverned and unequall motion of the ſhip, ſtirreth and unſetleth the ſtomach, or both; we may conjecture with the Philoſophers, rather then determine. This I am ſure of, that the Cabbins and Decks were but as ſo many Hoſpitals or Peſthouſes filled with diſeaſed perſons, whileſt I and the Mariners only made good the Hatches. Here did I ſee the Scalie nation of that Kingdom ſolace themſelves in the brimme of the waters, rejoycing in the ſight and warmth of the day; and yet ſpouting from their mouths ſuch quantity of waters, as if they purpoſed to quench that fire which gave it. They danced about our Veſſell, as if it had been a moving May-pole; and that with ſuch delightfull *decorum*, that you never ſaw a meaſure better troden with leſſe art. And now I know not what wave bigger then the reſt toſſed up our ſhip ſo high, that I once more ſaw the coaſt of *England*. An object which took ſuch hold on my ſenſes, that I forgot that harmleſſe company which ſported below me, to beſtow on my deareſt mother, this (and for ought I could aſſure my ſelf, my laſt) farewell.

England *adiew, thy moſt unworthy ſonne*
Leaves thee, and grieves to ſee what he hath done.
What he hath done, in leaving thee the beſt
Of mothers, and more glorious then the reſt
Thy ſiſter-nations. Had'ſt thou been unkind;
Yet might he truſt thee ſafer then the wind.
Had'ſt thou been weak; yet far more ſtrength in thee,
Then in two inches of a ſinking tree.
Had'ſt thou been cruell; yet thy angry face
Hath more love in it, then the Seas imbrace.
Suppoſe thee poor; his zeal and love the leſſe,
Thus to forſake his Mother in diſtreſſe.
But thou art none of theſe, no want in thee;
Only a needleſſe curioſitie
Hath made him leap thy ditch. O! let him have
Thy bleſſing in his Voyage: and hee'l crave

The Gods to thunder wrath on his neglect,
When he performs not thee all due respect;
That Nemesis *her scourge on him would pluck,*
When he forgets those breasts which gave him suck.
That Nature would dissolve and turn him earth,
If thou beest not remembred in his mirth.
May he be cast from mankind, if he shame
To make profession of his mothers name.
Rest then assur'd in this, though sometimes hee
Conceal, perhaps, his faith, he will not thee.

Chap. I.

NORMANDY *in generall; the Name and bounds of it. The condition of the Antient* Normans, *and of the present.* Ortelius *character of them examined. In what they resemble the Inhabitants of* Norfolk. *The commodities of it, and the Government.*

THe next ebb brought us in sight of the Sea-coast of *Normandy*, a shore so evenly compassed and levelled, that it seemeth the work of Art, not Nature; the Rock all the way of an equall height, rising from the bottom to the top in a perpendicular, and withall so smooth and polished, that if you dare believe it the work of Nature, you must also think, that Nature wrought it by the line, and shewed an art in it above the imitation of an Artist. This wall is the Northern bound of this Province; the South parts of it being confined with *Le Mainde la Beausse*, and *L' Isle de France*; on the East it is divided from *Picardie* by the River of *Some*; and on the North it is bounded with the Ocean, and the little River *Crenon*, which severeth it from a corner of

of *Britain*. It extendeth in length from the beginning of the 19 degree of longitude, to the middle of the 23. *viz.* from the Cape of St. *Saviour* West, to the Port-town of St *Valerie* East. For breadth, it lyeth partly in the 49, partly in the 50 degree of Latitude; so that reckoning 60 miles to a degree, we shall finde it to contain 270 *English* miles in length, and 60 *English* miles in breadth, where it is narrowest.

Amongst the Antients it was accounted a part of *Gallia Celtica*; the name *Neustria*. This new title it got by receiving into it a new Nation. A people which had so terribly spoyled the Maritine Coasts of *England*, *France*, and *Belgium*, that, *A furore Normannorum*, was inserted into the Letanie. Originally they were of *Norway*, their name importeth it. *Anno* 800, or thereabouts, they began first to be accounted one of the Plagues of *Europe*: 900 they seated themselves in *France* by the permission of *Charles* the *Balde*, and the valor of *Rollo* their Captain. Before this, they had made themselves masters of *Ireland*, though they long held it not, and *anno* 1067 they added to the glory of their name by the conquest of *England*. You would think them a people not only born to the warres, but to victory. But, *Ut frugum semina mutato solo degenerant, sic illa genuina feritas eorum, amœnitate mollita est*; *Florus* spake it of the *Gaules* removed into *Asia*: it is applyable to the *Norwegians* transplanted into *Gallia*: yet fell they not suddenly, and at once into that want of courage which now possesseth them. During the time they continued *English*, they attempted the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Antioch*, with a fortune answerable to their valour. Being once oppressed by the *French*, and inslaved under that *Monarchie*; they grew presently crest-faln; and at once lost both their spirits, and their liberty.

The present *Norman* then, is but the corruption of the Antient; the heir of his name, and perhaps his possessions, but neither of his strength, nor his manhood. *Bondage*, and a fruitfull soil, hath so emasculated them, that it is a lost labour to look for *Normans* even in *Normandy*. There remaineth nothing almost in them of their progenitours, but the remainders of two qualities, and those also degenerated,

if not baſtards; a *penurious pride*, and an *ungoverned doggedneſſe*. Neither of them become their fortune, or their habite; yet to theſe they are conſtant. Finally, view him in his rags and dejected countenance, and you would ſwear it impoſſible that theſe ſnakes ſhould be the deſcendents of thoſe brave *Heroes*, which ſo often triumphed over both Religions, foiling the *Saracens*, and vanquiſhing the *Chriſtians*.

But, perchance, their courage is evaporated into wit, and then the change is made for the better. *Ortelius* would ſeem to perſwade us to this conceit of them; and well might he do it, if his words were Oracles: *Le gens* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of this Nation) *ſont des plus accorts & ſubtils, d' eſprit de la Gaule.* A character, for which the *French* will little thank him; who (if he ſpeak truth) muſt in matter of diſcretion give precedency to their Vaſſals. But as *Imbalt* a *French* leader ſaid of the *Florentines* in the fifth book of *Guicciardine*, *Non ſapeva dove conſiſteſſe lingegne tanto celebrate de Fiorentini*; ſo may I of the *Normans*. For my part I could never yet find, where that great wit of theirs lay. Certain it is, that as the *French* in generall, are termed the Kings Aſſes, ſo may theſe men peculiarly be called the *Aſſes of the French*, or the *verieſt Aſſes of the reſt*. For what with the unproportionable rents they pay to their Lords on the one ſide, and the immeaſurable taxes laid upon them by the King on the other, they are kept in ſuch a perpetuated courſe of drudgery, that there is no place for wit or wiſdome left amongſt them. Liberty is the Mother and the Nurſe of thoſe two qualities; and therefore the *Romans* (not unhappily) expreſſed both the conditions of a *Freeman*, and a *diſcreet and modeſt perſonage*, by this own word *Ingenuus*. Why the *French* King ſhould lay a greater burden on the backs of this Nation, then their fellowes, I cannot determine. Perhaps it is, becauſe they have been twice conquered by them, once from King *John*, and again from *Henry* VI. and therefore undergo a double ſervitude. It may be, to abate their naturall pride and ſtubbornneſſe. Likely alſo it is, that being a revolting people, and apt to an apoſtaſie from their allegiance, they may by this meanes be kept impoveriſhed, and by conſequence diſabled from

from ſuch practiſes. This a *French* Gentleman of good underſtanding told me, that it was generally conceited in *France*, that the *Normans* would ſuddenly and unanimouſly betray their Countrey to the *Engliſh*, were the King a *Catholick*.

——— But there is yet a further cauſe of their beggerlineſſe and poverty, which is their litigiouſneſſe and frequent going to law (as we call it.) *Ortelius*, however he failed in the firſt part of their character, in the concluſion of it hath done them juſtice. *Mais en generall* (ſaith he) *ils ſont ſçavans au poſſible en proces & plaideries.* They are prety well verſed in the quirks of the Law, and have wit more then enough to wrangle. In this they agree exactly well with the Inhabitants of our Country of *Norfolk*: *ex infima plebe non pauci reperiuntur* (ſaith Mr. *Camden*) *quin ſi nihil litium ſit, lites tamen ex ipſis juris apicibus ſerere calleant.* They are prety ſellowes to finde out quirks in Law, and to it they will whatſoever it coſt them. Mr. *Camden* ſpake not this at randome or by the gueſſe. For beſides what my ſelf obſerved in them at my being once amongſt them, in a Colledge progreſſe, I have heard that there have been no leſſe then 340 *Niſi prius* tryed there at one Aſſizes. The reaſon of this likeneſſe between the two Nations, I conjecture to be the reſemblance of the ſite, and ſoil; both lie upon the Sea with a long and a ſpacious Coaſt; both enjoy a Countrey *Champain*, little ſwelled with hils, and for the moſt part of a light and ſandy mould. To proceed to no more particulars, if there be any difference between the two Provinces, it is only this, that the Countrey of *Normandy*, and the people of *Norfolk*, are ſomewhat the richer.

For, indeed, the Countrey of *Normandie* is enriched with a fat and liking ſoil; ſuch an one, *Quæ demum votis avari agricolæ reſpondet*, which may ſatisfie the expectation of the Husbandman, were it never ſo exorbitant. In my life I never ſaw Corn-fields more large and lovely, extended in an equall levell almoſt as far as eye can reach. The Wheat (for I ſaw little Barley) of a fair length in the ſtalke, and ſo heavy in the ear, that it is even bended double. You would think the grain had a deſire to kiſſe the earth its mother, or that

it

it purposed by making it self away into the ground, to save the Plough-man his next years labour. Thick it groweth, and so perfectly void of weeds, that no garden can be imagined to be kept cleaner by Art, then these fields are by Nature. Pasture ground it hath little, and lesse Meddow, yet sufficient to nourish those few Cattel they have in it. In all the way between *Dieppe* and *Pontoyse*, I saw but two flocks of Sheep, and them not above 40 in a flock. Kine they have in some measure, but not fat nor large, without these there were no living for them. The Nobles eat the flesh, whilst the Farmer feeds on Butter and Cheese, and that but sparingly. But the miserable estates of the *Norman paisant*, we will defer till another opportunity. Swine also they have in prety number, and some Pullen in their backsides; but of neither an excesse. The principall River of it is *Seine*, of which more hereafter; and besides this I saw two rivulets *Robee* and *Renelle*.

In matter of Civill Government, this Countrey is directed by the court of *Parliament* established at *Roven*. For matters Military, it hath an Officer like the Lieutenant of our shires in *England*, the Governor they call him. The present Governor is Mr. *Le duc de Longueville*, to whom the charge of this Province was committed by the present King *Lewis* XIII. *anno* 1619. The Lawes by which they are governed are the Civill or Imperiall, augmented by some Customes of the *French*, and others more particular which are the *Norman*. One of the principal'st is in matters of inheritance; the *French* custome giving to all the Sons an equality in the estate, which we in *England* call *Gavelkind*; the *Norman* dividing the estate into three parts, and thereof allotting two unto the eldest brother, and a third to be divided among the others. A law which the *French* count not just: the younger brothers of *England* would think the contrary. To conclude this generall discourse of the *Normans*; I dare say it is as happy a Country as most in *Europe*, were it subject to the same Kings, and governed by the same Laws, which it gave unto *England*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Dieppe, *the Town, ſtrength and importance of it. The policy of* Henry IV. *not ſeconded by his Son. The cuſtome of the* Engliſh *Kings in placing Governours in their Forts. The breaden God there, and ſtrength of the Religion. Our paſſage from* Dieppe *to* Roven. *The* Norman *Innes, Women, and Manners. The importunity of ſervants in hoſteries. The ſawcie familiarity of the attendants.* Ad pileum vocare, *what it was amongſt the* Romans. Jus pileorum *in the Univerſities of* England, &c.

JUne the 30. at 6 of the clock in the morning, we landed at *Dieppe*, one of the Haven-towns of *Normandy*; ſeated on an arme of the Sea, between two hils, which embrace it in the nature of a Bay. This ſecureth the Haven from the violence of the weather, and is a great ſtrength to the Town againſt the attempts of any forces which ſhould aſſault it by Sea. The Town lying within theſe mountains, almoſt a quarter of a mile up the channell. The Town it ſelf is not uncomely, the ſtreets large and wel paved, the houſes of an indifferent height, and built upright without any jettings out of one part over the other. The Fortifications, they ſay, (for we were not permitted to ſee them) are very good and modern; without ſtone, within earth: on the top of the hill, a Caſtle finely ſeated, both to defend the Town, and on occaſions to command it. The Garriſon conſiſteth of 60 men, in pay no more, but when need requireth, the Captain hath authority to arme the Inhabitants. The preſent Governour is the Duke of *Longueville*, who alſo is the Governour of the province, entruſted with both thoſe charges

by *Lewis* XIII. *anno* 1619. An action in which he ſwarved ſomewhat from the example of his father; who never committed the military command of a Countrey (which is the office of the Governour) and the cuſtody of a Town of war or a Fortreſſe, unto one man. The Duke of *Biron* might hope as great a curteſie from that King, as the moſt deſerving of his Subjects. He had ſtuck cloſe to him in all his adverſities, received many an honourable ſcar in his ſervice; and indeed, was both *Fabius* and *Scipio*, the Sword and Buckler of the *French* empire. In a word, he might have ſaid to this *Henry*, what *Silius* in *Tacitus* did to *Tiberius*, *Suum militem in obſequio manſiſſe, cum alii ad ſeditiones prolaberentur; neque duraturum Tiberii imperium, ſi iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuiſſet*: yet when he became *petitioner* to the King for the Citadell of *Burg*, ſeated on the confines of his government of *Bourgogne*, the King denied it. The reaſon was, becauſe Governours of Provinces which command in chief, *ought not to have the command of Places and Fortreſſes* within their Government. There was alſo another reaſon & more enforcing, which was, that the Petitioner was ſuſpected to hold intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe Town it was. The ſame *Henry*, though he loved the Duke of *Eſpernon*, even to the envy of the Court; yet even to him alſo he uſed the ſame caution. Therefore when he had made him Governor of *Xaintoigne* and *Angoulmois*, he put alſo into his hands the Towns of *Metz* and *Boulogne*; places ſo remote from the ſeat of his Government, and ſo diſtant one from another, that they did rather diſtract his power, then increaſe it.

The Kings of *England* have been well, and for a long time verſed in this maxime of eſtate. Let *Kent* be one of our examples, and *Hampſhire* the other. In *Kent* at this time the *Lieutenant* (or as the *French* would call him, the Governor) is the Earl of *Mountgomerie*; yet is *Dover* Caſtle in the hands of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and that of *Quinborough* in the cuſtody of Sir *Edward Hobby*: of which the one commandeth the Sea, and the other the Thames, and the Medway. In *Hampſhire*, the *Lieutenant* is the Earl of *South-Hampton*: but the government of the Town and Garriſon of *Porteſmouth*, is entruſted to the Earl of *Pembroke*: neither is there

there any of the least Sconces or Blockhouses, on the shore-side of that Countrey, which is commanded by the *Lieutenant*.

But King *Lewis* now reigning in *France*, minded not his Fathers action; when at the same time also he made his confident Mr. *Luines* Governor of *Picardie*, and of the Town and Citadell of *Amiens*. The time ensuing gave him a sight of this State-breach. For when the Dukes of *Espernon*, *Vendosme*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne* and *Nemours*, the Count of *Soisons* and others, sided with the Queen Mother against the King; the Duke of *Longueville* strengthned this *Dieppe*; and had not Peace suddenly followed, would have made it good, maugre the Kings forces. A Town it is of great importance, King *Henry* IV. using it as his *Asylum* or City of refuge, when the league was hottest against him. For, had he been further distressed, from hence might he have made an escape into *England*; and in at this door was the entance made for those *English* forces which gave him the first step to his throne. The Town hath been pillaged and taken by our *Richard* the first, in his war against *Philip Augustus*; and in the declining of our affaires in *France*, it was nine monthes together besieged by the Duke of *York*, but with that successe, which commonly attendeth a falling *Empire*. The number of the Inhabitants is about 30000, whereof 9000 and upwards are of the Reformation, and are allowed them for the exercise of their religion, the Church of *Arques*, a Village some two miles distant; the remainders are Papists. In this Town I met with the first *Idolatry*, which ever I yet saw, more then in my Books. *Quos antea audiebam, hodie vidi Deos*, as a barbarous *German* in *Vellejus* said to *Tiberius*. The Gods of *Rome*, which before I only heard of, I now saw, and might have worshipped. It was the *Hoaste*, as they call it, or the *Sacrament reserved*, carryed by a couple of *Priests* under a *Canopie*, ushered by two or three torches, and attended by a company of boyes and old people which had no other imployment. Before it went a Bell continually tinkling, at the sound whereof all such as are in their houses, being warned that then their God goeth by them, make some shew of reverence; those which meet it in the street, with bended

knees and elevated hands doing it honour. The *Proteſtants*, of this Bell make an uſe more religious, and uſe it as a warning or watch-peal to avoid that ſtreet through which they hear it coming. This invention of the Bell hath ſomewhat in it of *Turciſme*, it being the cuſtome there at their *Canonicall* houres, when they hear the criers bawling in the ſteeples, to fall proſtrate on the ground whereſoever they are and kiſſe it thrice, ſo doing their devotions to *Mahomet*. The carrying of it about the ſtreets hath, no queſtion, in it a touch of the *Jew*, this ceremony being borrowed from that of carrying about the Arke on the ſhoulders of the *Levites*. The other main part of it which is the *Adoration*, is derived from the *Heathens*, there never being a people but they, which afforded divine honors to things inanimate. But the people indeed, I cannot blame for this Idolatrous devotion, their conſciences being perſwaded, that what they ſee paſſe by them, is the very body of their Saviour. For my part, could the like belief poſſeſſe my underſtanding, I could meet it with greater reverence, then their Church can enjoyn me. The Prieſts and Doctors of the people are to be condemned only, who impoſe and inforce this ſin upon their hearers. And doubtleſſe there is a reward which attendeth them for it. Of ſtanding it is ſo young, that I never met with it before the year 1215. Then did Pope *Innocent* ordain in a Councell holden at *Rome*, that there ſhould be a *Pix* made to cover the Bread, and a Bell bought to be rung before it. The Adoration of it was enjoyned by Pope *Honorius*, *anno* 1226. both afterward encreaſed by the new ſolemn feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* day, by Pope *Urban* the IV. *anno* 1264. and confirmed for ever with multitudes of pardons, in the Councell of *Vienna*, by *Clement* the V. *anno* 1310. Such a punie is this great God of the *Romans*. *Lactantius* in his firſt Book of *Inſtitutions* againſt the *Gentiles*, taxeth the wiſe men of thoſe times of infinite ridiculouſneſſe, who worſhipped *Jupiter* as a God, *Cùm eundem tamen Saturno & Rhea genitum confiterentur*, Since themſelves ſo perfectly knew his originall. As much I marvell at the impudencie of the *Romiſh* Clergie, who will needs impoſe a new God upon their people, being ſo well acquainted with his cradle.

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It is now time to go on in our journey to *Roven*. The Cart ſtayeth, and it is fit we were in it. Horſes we could get none for money, and for love we did not expect them. We are now mounted in our Chariot, for ſo we muſt call it. An *Engliſh* man would have thought it a plain Cart, and if it needs will have the honour of being a Chariot, let it; ſure I am it was never ordained for triumph. At one end was faſtned three carcaſſes of horſes, or three bodies which had once been horſes, and now were worne to dead images; had the *Statua* of a man been placed on any one of them, it might have been hanged up at an Inne door, to repreſent St. *George* on horſeback, ſo liveleſſe they were, and as little moving; yet at laſt they began to crawle, for go they could not. This converted me from my former Hereſie, and made me apprehend life in them: but it was ſo little, that it ſeemed only enough to carry them to the next pack of hounds. Thus accommodated we bid farewell to *Dieppe*, and proceeded with a ſpace ſo ſlow, that me thought our journey unto *Roven* would prove a moſt perfect embleme of the motion of the ninth ſphere, which is 49000 years in finiſhing. But this was not our greateſt miſery. The rain fell in us through our tilt, which for the many holes in it, one would have thought to have been a net. The durt brake plentifully in upon us, through the rails of our Chariot: and the unequall and ill proportioned paſe of it, ſtartled almoſt every bone of us. I proteſt, I marvell how a *French* man durſt adventure in it. Thus endured we all the diſeaſes of a journey, and the danger of three ſeverall deaths, drowning, choaking with the mire, and breaking on the wheel; beſides a fear of being famiſhed before we came to our Inne, which was ſix *French* miles from us. The mad Duke in the Play, which undertook to drive two ſnailes from *Millaine* to *Muſco*, without ſtaffe, whip or goade; and in a braverie dared all the world to match him for an experiment: would here have had matter to have tryed his patience.

On the left hand we ſaw *Arques*, once famous for a ſiege laid about it by our *Richard* the firſt; but raiſed ſpeedily by the *French*. It is now (as before I told you) the Pariſh

Church of the *Dieppe* Proteſtants. Their Preachers Mr. *Corteau*, and Mr. *Mondenis*, who have each of them an yearly ſtipend of 40 *l.* or thereabouts; a poor pay, if the faithfull diſcharge of that duty were not a reward unto it ſelf, above the value of gold and ſilver. To inſtance in none of thoſe beggerly Villages we paſt through, we came at laſt unto *Toſtes*, the place deſtinated to be our lodging; a Town ſomewhat like the worſer ſort of Market-towns in *England*. There our *Charetter* brought us to the ruines of an houſe, an Ale houſe I ſhould ſcarce have thought it, and yet in ſpight of my teeth it muſt be an Inne, yea and that an honorable one, as *Don Quixotes* hoſte told him. Deſpair of finding there either Bedding or Victuals, made me juſt like the fellow at the gallowes, who when he might have been reprieved on condition he would marry a wench which there ſued for him, having viewed her well, cryed to the hangman *to drive on his Cart*. The truth is, *I' eſchappay la tonnnere et rencheus en l' eſchair*, according to the *French* proverb; I fell out of the frying-pan into the fire. One of the houſe (a ragged fellow I am ſure he was, and ſo moſt likely to live there) brought us to a room ſomewhat of kindred to a Charnel-houſe, as dark and as dampiſh. I confeſſe it was paved with brick at the bottom, and had towards the Orchards a prety hole, which in former times had been a window, but now the glaſſe was all vaniſhed. By the little light which came in at that hole, I firſt perceived that I was not in *England*. There ſtood in this Chamber three beds, if at the leaſt it be lawfull ſo to call them; the foundation of them was of ſtraw, ſo infinitely thronged together, that the wool-packs which our *Judges* ſit on in the Parliament, were melted butter to them: upon this lay a medley of flocks and feathers ſowed up together in a large bag; (for I am confident it was not a tick) but ſo ill ordered, that the knobs ſtuck out on each ſide, like a crab-tree cudgell. He had need to have fleſh enough that lyeth on one of them, otherwiſe the ſecond night would wear out his bones. The ſheets which they brought us, were ſo courſe, that in my conſcience no Mariner would vouchſafe to uſe them for a ſail; and the coverlet ſo bare, that if a man would undertake to reckon the threads, he need not miſſe

one

one of the number. The napperie of the Table was ſutable to the bedding, ſo foul and dirty, that I durſt not conceive it had been waſhed above once; and yet the poor clothes looked as briskly as if it had been promiſed for the whole year enſuing, to ſcape many a ſcouring. The napkins were fit companions for the clothes, *Unum ſi noveris, omnes noſti.* By my deſcription of this *Inne*, you may gueſſe at the reſt of *France*; not altogether ſo wretched, yet is the alteration almoſt inſenſible.

Let us now walke into the *Kitching*, and obſerve their proviſion. And here we found a moſt terrible execution committed on the perſon of a pullet; my Hoſteſſe (cruell woman) had cut the throat of it, and without plucking off the feathers, tore it into pieces with her hands, and after took away skin and feathers together, juſt as we ſtrip Rabbets in *England:* this done, it was clapped into a pan, and fryed into a ſupper. In other places where we could get meat for the Spitte, it uſeth to be preſently broached, and laid perpendicularly over the fire; three turns at the moſt diſpatcheth it, and bringeth it to the Table, rather ſcorched then roaſted. I ſay where we could get it, for in theſe raſcally Innes, you cannot have what you would, but what you may; and that alſo not of the cheapeſt. At *Pontoyſe* we met with a Rabbet, and we thought we had found a great purchaſe; larded it was, as all meat is in the Countrey, otherwiſe it is ſo lean, it would never endure roaſting. In the eating it proved ſo tough, that I could not be perſwaded, that it was any more then three removes from that Rabbet which was in the Ark. The price half a Crown *Engliſh*. My companions thought it over deer, to me it ſeemed very reaſonable; for certainly the graſſe which fed it, was worth more then thrice the money. But to return to *Toſtes*.

And it it time; you might, perchance, elſe have loſt the ſight of mine Hoſteſſe, and her daughters. You would have ſworne at the firſt bluſh, they had beeu of a bloud; and it had been great pity had it been otherwiſe. The ſalutation of *Horace*, *Ornate pulchra filia pulchrior*, was never ſo unſeaſonable as here. Not to honour them with a further

character, let it ſuffice that their perſons kept ſo excellent a *decorum* with the houſe and furniture, that one could not poſſible make uſe of *Tullies Quàm diſpari dominaris domina.* But this is not their luck only. The women not of *Normandy* alone, but generally of all *France*, are forced to be contented with a little beauty; and ſhe which with us is reckoned with the vulgar, would amongſt them be taken for a Princeſſe. But of the *French* women, more when we have taken a view of the Dames of *Paris*; now only ſomewhat of their habit and condition. Their habit in which they differ from the reſt of *France*, is the attire of the head, which hangeth down their backs in the faſhion of a Vail. In *Roven* and the greater Cities, it is made of linen, pure and decent; here, and in the Villages, it cannot poſſible be any thing elſe then an old diſh-clout turned out of ſervice, or the corner of a tablecloth reſerved from waſhing. Their beſt condition is not alwayes viſible. They ſhew it only in the mornings, or when you are ready to depart, and that is their begging; you ſhall have about you ſuch a throng of thoſe ill-faces, and every one whining out this *ditty*, *Pour les ſervants*, that one might with greater eaſe diſtribute a dole at a rich mans Funerall, then give them a penny. Had you a purpoſe to give them unaſked, their importunity will prevent your ſpeedieſt bounty. After all this impudent begging, their ambition reacheth no higher then a *Sol*; he that giveth more out-biddeth their expectation, and ſhall be counted a ſpend-thrift.

But the principall ornaments of theſe Innes, are the men-ſervants, the raggedeſt regiment that ever I yet looked upon. Such a thing as a *Chamberlaine* was never heard of amongſt them, and good clothes are as little known as he. By the habit of his attendants, a man would think himſelf in a Gaol; their clothes either full of patches, or open to the skin. Bid one of them wipe your boots, he preſently hath recourſe to the curtains, with thoſe he will perhaps rub over one ſide, and leave the other to be made clean by the gueſt. It is enough for him, that he hath written the coppy. They wait alwayes with their hats on their heads, and ſo alſo do ſervants before their maſters: attending bare-headed, is as much out

of

of fashion there, as in *Turkey*: of all *French* fashions, in my opinion, the most unfitting and unseeming. Time and much use reconciled me to many other things, which at the first were offensive; to this unreverent custome, I returned an enemy. Neither can I see how it can choose but stomach the most patient, to see the worthyest signe of liberty usurped and profaned by the baseſt of slaves. For seeing that the *French paisantrie*, are such infinite slaves unto their Lords and Princes, it cannot be, but that those which are their servants, must be one degree at the least, below the lowest condition.

Certainly among the antients, this *promiscuous covering* of the head, was never heard of. It was with them the chief sign of freedome, as is well known to those which are conversant with Antiquity. The *Lacones* a people of *Peloponnesus*, after they had obtained to be made free denizens of *Lacedemon*, in signe of their new-gotten liberty, would never go into the battail *nisi pileati*, but with their hats on. Amongst the *Africans*, as it is written in *Alexander ab Alexandro*, the placing of a hat on the top of a spear, was used as a token to incite the people to their liberty, which had been oppressed by Tyrants; *Per pileum in hasta propositum, ad libertatem proclamari.* But amongst the *Romans*, we have more variety. The taking off of the hat of *Tarquinius Priscus* by an Eagle, and the putting of it on again, occasioned the *Augur* to prophesie unto him the Kingdom, which fell out accordingly. In their sword playes, when one of the Gladiators had with credit slain his adversary; they would sometimes honour him with a Palm, sometimes with the Hat. Of these the last was the worthyer, the Palm only honouring the Victor, this also enfranchizing the receivers; therefore conferred commonly on him which had killed most men in the Theatres. Hence the complaints of *Tertullian*, *lib. de Spectaculis*, *cap.* 21. *Qui insigniori cuiquam homicidæ leonem poscit, idem gladiatori atroci rudem petat* (*rudis* was an other token of enfranchisement) *& pileum præmium conferat.* In their common *Forum*, or *Guildhall*, when they purposed to manumit any of their servants; their custome also was, after the *Lictor* or *Sergeant* had registred the name of the party manu-

mitted, to ſhave his head and give him a cap, whence according to *Roſinus*, *ad pileum vocare*, is to ſet one at liberty.

Eraſmus in his *Chiliades*, maketh the Hat to be the ſigne of ſome eminent worth in him that weareth it; *Pileus* (ſaith he) *inſigne ſpectatæ virtutis*. On this he conjectureth that the putting on of caps on the heads of ſuch as are created *Doctors* or *Maſters*, had its originall. In the Univerſities of *England* this cuſtome is ſtill in force; the putting on of the cap being never performed, but in the ſolemn *Comitia*, and in the preſence of all ſuch as are either auditors or ſpectators of that dayes exerciſe. When I was *Regent*, the whole houſe of *Congregation* joyned together in a Petition to the Earl of *Pembroke*, to reſtore unto us the *jus pileorum*, the licence of putting on our Caps, at our publick meetings; which priviledge, time and the tyranny of the *Vicechancellors*, had taken from us. Among other motives, we uſed the ſolemn form of creating a Maſter in the Acts, by putting on his cap: and that that ſigne of liberty might diſtinguiſh us which were the *Regents*, from thoſe boyes which we were to govern: which requeſt he graciouſly granted. But this *French* ſawcineſſe hath drawn me out of my way. An impudent familiarity, which I confeſſe did much offend me: and to which I ſtill profeſſe my ſelf an open enemy. Though *Jack* ſpeak *French*, I cannot endure *Jack* ſhould be a *Gentleman*.

CHAP. III.

ROVEN *a neat City; how ſeated and built; the ſtrength of it.* St. Katharines *mount. The Church of* Noſtre dame, &c. *The indecorum of the* Papiſts *in the ſeverall and unſutable pictures of the* Virgin. *The little Chappell of the* Capuchins *in* Boulogne. *The* Houſe *of* Parliament. *The precedencie of the* Preſident *and the* Governor. *The* Legend *of* St. Romain, *and the priviledge thence ariſing. The language and religion of the* Rhothomagenſes, *or people of* Roven.

JULY the firſt we ſet on for *Roven*. In 10 hours our Cart dragged us thither, the whole journey being in all ſix leagues *French*: admirable ſpeed! About three of the clock in the afternoon we had a ſight of the Town, daintily ſeated in a valley on the River *Seine*. I know not any Town better ſituate, *Oxford* excepted, which indeed it much reſembleth; I mean not in bigneſſe, but ſituation: It ſtandeth on all ſides evironed with mountains, the North excepted, and hath a large and pleaſant walk of meadowes by the river ſide, to the South-eaſt-ward; as *Oxford* hath towards *Eveley*. It is ſeated on the principall river of *France*, diſtant from the *Metropolis* of that Country 50 miles *Engliſh*, or thereabouts; as *Oxford* on the *Thames*, and from *London*. Watered alſo it is with two ſmall rivulets, *Robee* and *Renelle*, as the other with *Charwell* and *Eventode*. The difference is, that *Oxford* is ſeated ſomewhat higher on the ſwelling of an hill, and a little more removed from thoſe mountains which environ it: and that the rivers which run through ſome part of *Roven*, do only waſh the precincts of the other. The buildings are in ſome places wood, in ſome ſtone, in other both; the houſes without juttings or

overlets, four ſtories high, and in the front not very beautifull. The moſt promiſing houſe which mine eye met with, was that of Mr. *Boniface*, who being of obſcure parents, and having raiſed himſelf a fortune in the wars, againſt the *League*, here built a receptacle for his age. It is faſhioned after the manner of new buildings in *London*, compoſed all of dainty white ſtone, ſquare and poliſhed. On the partition between the firſt ſtory and the ſecond, it hath theſe words engraven, *Vi & Virtute. Martis opus. Tentanda via. Amore & armis*: a motto ſutable to his riſing.

The other buildings of note are the bridge (for I as yet omit the Houſe of Parliament and the Churches) and the Town wall by it. The bridge, whilſt it was all ſtanding, was thought to have been the faireſt and ſtrongeſt piece of that kinde in all *France*. It conſiſteth of twelve arches, large and high: there now remain but ſeven of them, the reſt being broken down by the *Engliſh* in the falling of their affairs in *France*, the better to make good the Town againſt the *French*. The river is here about the breadth of the *Thames* at *Fulham*. Between the River and the Town wall, is the Exchange or meeting place of the Merchants, paved with broad and even peble. In breadth up to the wall-ward 30 yards, in length 100; a fine walke in fair weather. All along the banke ſide lay the ſhips, which by reaſon of the broken bridge come up thither, and on occaſions higher: a good turn for *Paris*. The wall for the length of 100 yards, is as ſtraight as one may lay a line, of a juſt height, and compoſed of ſquare and excellent ſtones, ſo cunningly laid, that I never ſaw the ſides of a Noble mans houſe built more handſomely. But it is not only the beauty of the wall which *Roven* delighteth in, there muſt ſomewhat alſo be expected of ſtrength: to which purpoſe it might ſerve indifferently well, were there ſome addition of earth within it. It is well helped on the outſide by the breadth and depth of the ditches; but more by St. *Katherines* fort ſeated on a hill at the Eaſt ſide of it. A Fort, which were it ſtrengthned according to the modern art of fortifying, would much aſſure the Town, and make it at once, both a ſlave and a commander. The *Marſhall D' Ancre*, when he was *Lieutenant* here for

for the Queen mother, began to fortifie this mountain, *Quilleboeuſe*, and other places of importance; but upon his death they were all raſed: what were his projects in it, they know beſt which were acquainted with his ambition. Certainly the jars which he had ſowen amongſt the Princes one with the other, and between them and the King: ſhew that they were not intended for nothing.

There are in *Roven* 32 Pariſh Churches, beſides thoſe which belong to Abbies and Religious houſes, of which the moſt beautifull is that of St. *Audoin* or *Owen*, once Archbiſhop of this City. The ſeat and Church of the Archbiſhop is that of *Noſtre dame*, a building far more gorgeous in the outſide, then within. It preſents it ſelf to you with a very gracious and majeſticall front, decked with moſt curious imagery, and adorned with three ſtately Towers. The firſt *La tour de beurre* (becauſe it was built with that money which was raiſed by Cardinall Dr. *Amboyſe*, for granting a diſpenſation to eat butter in the Lent): and a third built over the porch or great door, wherein is the great Bell ſo much talked of. Within it is but plain and ordinary, ſuch as common Cathedrall Churches uſually are, ſo big, ſo faſhioned. Behinde the high Altar, at a pillar on the left had, is the remainder of the Duke of *Bedfords* Tomb: which for ought I could diſcerne, was nothing but an *Epitaph* ſome three yards high in the pillar. I ſaw nothing in it, which might move the envie of any Courtier to have it defaced, unleſſe it were the title of *Regent du Royaume de France*, which is the leaſt he merited.

Somewhat Eaſtward, beyond this is our Ladies Chappell, a prety neat piece, and daintily ſet out. There ſtandeth on the top of the ſcreen, the image of the Virgin her ſelf, between two Angels. They have attired her in a red mantle, laced with two gold laces, a handſome ruffe about her neck, a vail of fine lawne hanging down her back, and (to ſhew that ſhe was the Queen of heaven) a crown upon her head: in her left arme ſhe holds her ſon in his ſide-coat, a black hat and a golden hatband. A jolly plump Ladie ſhe ſeemeth to be, of a flaxen hair, a ruddy lip, and a chearefull complexion.

Twere well the Painters would agree about limming of her, otherwiſe we are likely to have almoſt as many Ladies, as Churches. At *Noſtre dame* in *Paris*, ſhe is taught us to be browne, and ſeemeth ſomewhat inclining to melancholie. I ſpeak not of her different habit, for I envie not her changes of apparell Only I could not but obſerve how thoſe of St. *Sepulchres* Church, *en la Rue* St. *Dennis*, have placed her on the top of their Skreen, in a Coape, as if ſhe had taken upon her the zeal of *Abraham*, and were going to make a bloudy ſacrifice of her Son. They of *Noſtre dame* in *Amiens*, have erected her *Statua* all in gold, with her Son alſo of the ſame mettle in her armes; caſting beams of gold round about her, as the Sun is painted in its full glory: ſtrange Idolatries! On the contrary, in the Pariſh Church of *Tury*, in *La Beauſſe*, ſhe is to be ſeen in a plain petticoat of red, and her other garments correſpondent. In my minde this holdeth moſt proportion to her eſtate, and will beſt ſerve to free their irreligion from abſurdity. If they will worſhip her as a nurſe, with her childe in her arme, or at her breſt, let them array her in ſuch apparell, as might beſeem a Carpenters wife; ſuch as ſhe may be ſuppoſed to have worn before the world had taken notice, that ſhe was the mother of her Saviour. If they needs muſt have her in her eſtate of glory, as at *Amiens*; or of honour (being now publickly acknowledged to be the *bleſſedeſt among women*) as at *Paris*, let them disburden her of her child. To clap them thus together, is a folly, equally worthy of ſcorne and laughter. Certainly had ſhe but ſo much liberty, as to make choice of her own clothes, I doubt not but ſhe would obſerve a greater *decorum*. And therefore I commend the *Capuchins* of *Boulogne*, who in a little ſide-chappell conſecrated unto her, have placed only a handſome fair looking-glaſſe upon her Altar, the beſt ornament of a female cloſet: why they placed it there, I cannot ſay, only I conceive it was, that ſhe might there ſee how to dreſſe her ſelf.

This Church is ſaid to have been built (I ſhould rather think repaired) by *Raoul* or *Rollo*, the firſt Duke of *Normandy*; ſince it hath been much beautifyed by the *Engliſh* when they were Lords of this Province. It is the ſeat of an Arch-

Archbiſhop, a Dean and fifty Canons. The Archbiſhop was inſtituted by the authority of *Conſtantine* the Great, during the ſitting of the Councell of *Arles*. *Anidian* who was there preſent, being conſecrated the firſt Archbiſhop. The Biſhops of *Sees*, *Aurenches*, *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, *Lyſieux* and *Eureux*, were appointed for his Dioceſans. The now Archbiſhop is ſaid to be an able Scholar, and a ſound Stateſman; his name I enquired not. The revenues of his Chair are ſaid to be 10000 crowns: more they would amount to, were the Countrey any way fruitfull of Vines; out of which the other Prelates of *France* draw no ſmall part of their *intrada*.

The *Parliament* of this Countrey, was eſtabliſhed here by *Lewis* XII. who alſo built that fair Palace where in Juſtice is adminiſtred, *anno* 1501. At that time he divided *Normandy* into ſeven Lathes, Rapes, or Bailiwicks, *viz.* *Roven*, *Caux*, *Conſtentin*, *Caen*, *Eureux*, *Giſors*, and *Alençon*. This Court hath Supreme power to enquire into, and give ſentence of all cauſes within the limits of *Normandy*. It receiveth appeals from the inferior Courts of the Dutchie unto it, but admitteth none from it. Here is alſo *Cour des Eſlux*, a Court of the generall Commiſſioners, alſo for Taxes; and *La Chambre des Aides*, inſtituted by *Charles* VII. for the receiving of his Subſidies, Gabels, Impoſts, *&c.* The houſe of Parliament is in form quadrangular, a very gratefull and delectable building; that of *Paris* is but a Chaos or a Babell to it. In the great hall (into which you aſcend by ſome 30 ſteppes or upwards) are the ſeats and desks of the *Procurators*; every ones name written in *Capital letters* over his head. Theſe *Procurators* are like our *Atturnies*, to prepare cauſes and make them ready for the *Advocates*. In this Hall do ſuitors uſe either to attend on, or to walke up and down and conſer with their pleaders. Within this hall is the great Chamber, the tribunall and ſeat of juſtice, both in cauſes Criminall and Civill.

At domus interior regali ſplendida luxu
Inſtruitur:——— As *Virgill* of Queen *Didoes* dining *roome*.

A Camber ſo gallantly and richly built, that I muſt needs confeſſe

feſſe it far ſurpaſſeth all the rooms that ever I ſaw in my life. The Palace of the *Louure* hath nothing in it comparable. The ſeeling all inlaid with gold, and yet did the workmanſhip exceed the matter. This Court conſiſteth of two *Preſidents*, twenty *Counſellors* or Aſſiſtants, and as many *Advocates* as the Court will admit of. The prime *Preſident* is termed *Ner de Riz*, by birth a *Norman*: upon the Bench, and in all places of his Court, he taketh the prcedencie of the Duke of *Longueville*: when there is a convention of the three Eſtates ſummoned, the Duke hath the priority.

We ſaid even now, that from the ſentence of this Court there lay no appeal; but this muſt be recanted, and it is no ſhame to do it: St. *Auſtin* hath written his *Retractations*; ſo alſo hath *Bellarmine*. Once in the year there is an appeal admitted, but that for one man only, and on this occaſion: There was a poyſonous Dragon not far from *Roven*, which had done much harme to the Countrey and City. Many wayes had been tryed to deſtroy him, but none proſpered; at laſt *Romain*, afterwards made a Saint, then Archbiſhop of the Town, accompanied with a theef and a murderer, whoſe lives had been forfeited to a ſentence, undertaketh the enterpriſe; upon ſight of the Dragon the theef ſtole away, the murderer goeth on, and ſeeth that holy man vanquiſh the Serpent, armed only with a Stole (it is a neck habit, ſanctifyed by his Holineſſe of *Rome*, and made much after the manner of a tippet) with this Stole tied about the neck of the Dragon, doth the murderer lead him priſoner to *Roven*. To make ſhort work, the name of God is praiſed, the Biſhop magniſyed, the murderer pardoned, and the Dragon burned. This accident (if the ſtory be not *Apocrypha*) is ſaid to have hapned on *holy Thurſday*. *Audoin* or *Owen*, ſucceſſor unto St. *Romain*, in memory of this marvellous act, obtained of King *Dagobert* the firſt (he began his reign *anno* 632) that from that time forwards the *Chapitre* of the Cathedrall Church, ſhould every *Aſcenſion* day have the faculty of delivering any malefactor, whom the lawes had condemned. This that King then granted, and all the following Kings even to this time have ſucceſſively confirmed it. I omit the ceremonies and ſolemnities wherewith this priſoner is taken

taken from his irons, and restored to liberty. It is not above nine years agone, since a *Baron* of *Gascoyne* took occasion to kill his wife, which done, he fled hither into *Normandy*; and having first acquainted the *Canons* of *Nostre dame* with his desire, put himself to the sentence of the Court, and was adjudged to the wheel. *Ascension-day* immediately coming on, the *Canons* challenged him, and the Judge, according to the custome, caused him to be delivered. But the *Normans* pleaded that the benefit of that priviledge belonged only to the natives of that Province; and they pleaded with such fury, that the Baron was again committed to prison, till the Queen Mother had wooed the people, *pro ea saltem vice*, to admit of his reprievall.

I deferred to speak of the language of *Normandy*, till I came hither, because here it is best spoken. It differeth from the *Parisian*, and more elegant *French*, almost as much as the *English* spoken in the *North*, doth from that of *London* or *Oxford*. Some of the old *Norman* words it still retaineth, but not many. It is much altered from what it was in the time of the *Conqueror*, few of the words in which our lawes were written being known by them. One of our company gave a *Litleton's tenure*, written in that language, to a *French* Doctor of the Lawes; who protested that in three lines, he could not understand three words of it. The religion in this Town is indifferently poized, as it also is in most places of this Province. The *Protestants* are thought to be as great a party as the other, but far weaker, the Duke of *Longueville*, having disarmed them in the beginning of the last troubles.

Chap. IV.

Our journey between Roven *and* Pontoyſe. *The holy man of St.* Clare *and the Pilgrims thither. My ſore eyes.* Mante, Pontoyſe, Normandy *juſtly taken from King* John. *The end of this Booke.*

July the ſecond we take our farewell of *Roven*, better accommodated then we came thither; yet not ſo well as I deſired. We are now preferred *ab Aſinis ad equos*, from the Cart to the Waggon. The *French* call it a Coach, but that matters not; ſo they would needs have the Cart to be a Chariot. Theſe Waggons are the ordinary inſtruments of travell in thoſe Countries; much of a kin to *Graveſend*'s barge. You ſhall hardly finde them without a knave or a Giglot. A man may be ſure to be merry in them, were he as certain to be wholeſome. This, in which we travelled, contained ten perſons, as all of them commonly do; and amongſt theſe ten, one might have found *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *French*, *Normans*, *Dutch*, and *Italians*, a jolly medley; had our religions been as different as our Nations, I ſhould have thought my ſelf in *Amſterdam* or *Poland*; if a man had deſired to have ſeen a Brief or an Epitome of the World, he would no where have received ſuch ſatisfaction, as by looking on us. I have already reckoned up the ſeveral Nations, I will now lay open the ſeverall conditions. There were then to be found amongſt theſe ten paſſengers, men and women, Lords and ſerving men, Scholars and Clowns, Ladies and Chambermaids, Prieſts and Laie-men, Gentlemen and Artificers, people of all ſexes and almoſt all ages. *If all the learning in the world were loſt, it might be found again in Plutarch*, ſo ſaid *Budæus*. If all the Nations in the world had been loſt, they might have been found again in our Waggon, ſo I. Seriouſly I think our Coach

Coach to have been no unfit repreſentation of the Ark. A whole world of men and languages might have grown out of it.

But all this while our Waggon joggeth on, but ſo leiſurely, that it gave me leave to take a more patient view of the Countrey, then we could in the Cart. And here, indeed, I ſaw ſufficient to affect the Countrey, yea to dote on it, had I not come out of *England*. The fields ſuch as already I have deſcribed, every where beſet with Apple-trees, and fruits of the like nature. You could ſcarce ſee any thing which was barren in the whole Journey. Theſe Apples are both meat and drink to the poor *Paiſant*. For the Country is ill provided with Vines (the only want I could obſerve in it) and Beer is a good beverage at a Gentlemans table, Sider then, or Perry are the poor mans Claret; and happy man is he, which once or twice a week can aſpire ſo high above water. To proceed, through many a miſerable Village (*Burghs* they call them) and one Town ſomewhat bigger then the reſt, called *Equille*; we came that night to St. *Claire* 10 *French* miles from *Roven*, a poor Town god wot, and had nothing in it remarkable, but an accident. There dwelt a monk there, grown into great opinion for his ſanctity, and one who had an eſpeciall hand upon ſore eyes; yet his ability herein was not generall, none being capable of cure from him but pure Virgins. I perſwade my ſelf *France* could not yield him many patients: and yet from all parts he was much ſought unto. Hope of cure and a charitable opinion, which they had of themſelves, had brought to him divers diſtreſſed Damoſels; which, I am confident, had no intereſt in his miracle. In the ſame Inne (Alehouſe I ſhould ſay) where we were to be harbored, there had put in a whole convoy of theſe *Ladies errant*, *Pilgrims* they called themſelves, and had come on foot two dayes journey to cleer their eye-ſight. They had white vailes hanging down their backs, which in part covered their faces; yet I perceived by a glimpſe, that ſome of them were paſt cure. Though my charity durſt allow them maids, it was afraid to ſuppoſe them Virgins: yet ſo far I dare aſſure them they ſhould recover their ſight, that when they came home, they ſhould

ſee their folly. At that time, what with too much watching on ſhipboard, what with the tartneſſe of the water, and the violence of the winde, working upon me for almoſt 40 houres together whilſt I lay on the Hatches: mine eyes had gotten a rheum and a redneſſe: my Hoſteſs (good woman) perſwaded me to this holy Eye-wright, but I durſt not venture Not that I had not as good a title to my Virginity as the beſt there: but becauſe I had learned what a grievous ſentence was denounced on *Ahaziah* king of *Iſrael*, for ſeeking help of *Belzebub* the god of *Eckron*. When I hap to be ill, let my amendment come on Gods name. *Mallem ſemper profanus eſſe, quam ſic religioſus*, as *Minutius Fœlix* of the *Roman* Sacrifices. Let my body rather be ſtil troubled with a ſore eye, then have ſuch a recovery to be a perpetuall eye-ſore to my conſcience. Rather then go in Pilgrimage to ſuch a Saint, let the Papiſts count me for an Heretick. Beſides, how durſt I imagine in him an ability of curing my bodily eyes, who had for above 70 years been troubled with a blindneſſe in the eyes of his ſoul? ——— *Thou fool* (ſaid our Saviour almoſt in the like caſe) *firſt caſt out the beam out of thine own eye, and then ſhalt thou ſee clearly to caſt out the mote out of thy brothers eye.*

The next morning (*July* 3) I left my pilgrims to try their fortunes, and went on in our journey to *Paris*, which that day we were to viſite. My eyes not permitting me to read, and my eares altogether ſtrangers to the *French* chat, drave my thoughts back to *Roven*; and there nothing ſo much poſſeſſed me, as the ſmall honour done to *Bedford* in his monument. I had leaſure enough to provide him a longer Epitaph, and a ſhorter apologie againſt the envie of that Courtier, which perſwaded *Charles* the VIII. to deface the ruines of his Sepulchre: Thus.

So did the Fox, the coward'ſt of the heard,
Kick the dead Lyon, and profane his beard.
So did the Greeks, *about their vanquiſht hoſt,*
Drag Hectors *reliques, and torment his ghoſt.*
So did the Parthian *ſlaves deride the head*
Of the great Craſſus *now betrayed and dead:*

To whose victorious sword, not long before,
They would have sacrific'd their lives, or more.
So do the French *assault dead* Bedfords *spright,*
And trample on his ashes in despight.

But foolish Curio *cease, and do not blame*
So small an honor done unto his name.
Why grievest thou him a Sepulchre to have,
Who when he liv'd could make all France *a grave?*
His sword triumph'd through all those Towns which lie
In th' Isle, Maine, Anjoy, Guyen, Normandie.
They fathers felt it. Oh! thou worst of men,
(If man thou art) do not endevour then,
This Conquerour from his last hold to thrust,
Whom all brave minds should honour in his dust.

But be not troubled Bedford; *thou shalt stand*
Above the reach of malice, though the hand
Of a French *baseness may deface thy name,*
And tear it from thy marble, yet shall fame
Speak loudly of thee and thy acts. Thy praise
A Pyramis *unto it self shall raise,*
They brave atchievements in the times to come,
Shall be a monument above a Tombe.
They name shall be thy Epitaph: *and he*
Which once reads Bedford, *shall imagin thee*
Beyond the power of Verses, and shall say
None could expresse thy worthes a fuller way.

Rest thou then quiet in the shades of night,
Nor vex thy self with Curio's *weaker spite.*
Whilest France *remains, and Histories are writ,*
Bedford *shall live, and* France *shall Chronicl' it.*

Having offered this unworthy, yet gratefull sacrifice, to the *Manes* of that brave *Heros*: I had the more leasure to behold *Mante*, and the Vines about it, being the first that ever I saw. They are planted like our Hop-gardens, and grow up by the helpe of poles, but not so high. They are kept with little

coſt, and yeeld profit to an husbandman ſufficient to make him rich, had he neither King nor Landlord. The Wine which is preſſed out of them, is harſh and not pleaſing: as much differing in ſweetneſſe from the Wines of *Paris* or *Orleans*, as their language doth in elegancy. The reſt of the *Norman* wines, which are not very frequent, as growing only on the frontiers towards *France*, are of the ſame quality. As for the Town of *Mante*, it ſeemeth to have been of good ſtrength before the uſe of great Ordinances; having a wall, a competent ditch, and at every gate a draw-bridge. They are ſtill ſufficient to guard their Pullen from the Fox, and in the night times to ſecure their houſes from any forain burglary. Once indeed they were able to make reſiſtance to a King of *France*, but the *Engliſh* were then within it. At laſt on honorable termes it yeelded, and was entred by *Charles* VII. the ſecond of *Auguſt*, *anno* 1449. The Town is for building and bigneſſe, ſomewhat above the better ſort of Market Towns here in *England*.

The laſt Town of *Normandy* toward *Paris* is *Pontoyſe*, a Town well fortifyed, as being a borderer, and one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks againſt *France*. It hath in it two fair Abbies of *Maubuiſſon* and St. *Martin*, and ſix Churches Parochiall, whereof that of *Noſtre dame* in the Suburbs is the moſt beautifull. The name it derives from a bridge, built over the river of *Oyſe*, on which it is ſituate, and by which on that ſide it is well defended; the bridge being ſtrengthned with a ſtrong gate, and two draw-bridges. It is commodiouſly ſituate on the riſing of an hill, and is famous for the ſiege laid before it by *Charles* VII. *anno* 1442. but more fortunate unto him in the taking of it. For having raiſed his Army upon the Duke of *Yorks* coming to give him battail with 6000 only; the *French* Army conſiſting of double the number; he retired or fled rather unto St. *Denis*; but there hearing how ſcandalous his retreat was to the *Pariſians* even ready to mutiny; and that the Duke of *Orleans* and others of the Princes, ſtirred with the ignominiouſneſſe of his flight, began to practiſe againſt him; he ſpeedily returned to *Pontoyſe*, and maketh himſelf maſter of it by aſſault. Certainly to that fright he owed the getting of this Town, and all *Normandy*, the *French* by that door

door making their entrie unto this Province; out of which at last they thrust the *English*, *anno* 1450. So desperate a thing is a frighted coward.

This Countrey had once before been in possession of the *English*, and that by a firmer title then the sword. *William* the *Conqueror* had conveied it over the Seas into *England*, and it continued an Appendix of that Crown, from the year 1067 unto that of 1204. At that time, *John* called *Sans terre*, third son unto King *Henry* II. having usurped the estates of *England* and the *English* possessions in *France*, upon *Arthur* heir of *Bretagne*, and son unto *Geofry* his elder brother; was warred on by *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, who sided with the said *Arthur*. In the end *Arthur* was taken, and not long after was found dead in the ditches of the Castle of *Roven*. Whether this violent death happened unto him by the practise of his Uncle, as the *French* say, or that the young Prince came to that unfortunate end in an attempt to escape, as the *English* report, is not yet determined. For my part, considering the other carriages and virulencies of that King, I dare be of that opinion, that the death of *Arthur* was not without his contrivement. Certainly he that rebelled against his Father, and practised the eternall imprisonment and ruine of his Brother, would not much stick (this being so speedy a way to settle his affaires) at the murder of a Nephew. Upon the first bruit of this murder, *Constance* mother to the young Prince, complaineth unto the King and Parliament of *France*; not the Court which now is in force, consisting of men only of the long robe, but the Court of the *Patrie* or 12 Peeres, whereof King *John* himself was one, as Duke of *Normandy*. I see not how in justice *Philip* could do lesse then summon him, an homager being slain, and a homager being accused. To this summons *John* refused to yeeld himself, a Counsell rather magnanimous then wise, and such as had more in it of a *English* King then a *French* Subject. *Edward* III. a Prince of finer metall then this *John*, obeyed the like warrant, and performed a personall homage to *Philip* of *Valoys*, and it is not reckoned amongst his disparagements. He committed yet a further errour or solecisme in State, not so much as sending any of his people to supply his place, or plead his cause. Upon this non-appearance, the Peers proceed

ceed to ſentence, *Il fut par Arreſt dela dite cour* (ſaith *Du Cheſne*) *condamnè pour atteint & convaincu da crime de parricide, & de felonie*; Parricide for killing his own Nephew; and Felony for committing an act ſo execrable on the perſon of a *French Vaſſall*, and in *France*. *John du Serres* addeth a third cauſe, which was contempt, in diſobeying the Kings commandment. Upon this verdict the Court awarded, *Que toutes les terres qu' il avoit parde là demoureroient acquiſes & confiſquees a la Couronne*, &c. A proceeding ſo fair and orderly, that I ſhould ſooner accuſe King *John* of indiſcretion, then the *French* of injuſtice. When my life or eſtate is in danger, let me have no more ſiniſter a tryall. The *Engliſh* thus outed of *Normandy* by the weakneſſe of *John*, recovered it again by the puiſſance of *Henry*; but being held only by the ſword, it was after 30 years recovered again, as I have told you. And now being paſſed over the *Oyſe*, I have at once freed the *Engliſh* and my ſelf of *Normandy*; here ending this Book, but not that dayes journey.

The End of the Firſt Book.

A SURVEY OF THE STATE of FRANCE.

FRANCE ſpecially ſo called.

OR,

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

France *in what ſenſe ſo called. The bounds of it. All old* Gallia *not poſſeſſed by the* French. *Countries follow the name of the* moſt predominant Nation. *The condition of the preſent* French *not different from that of the old* Gaules. *That the heavens have a conſtant power upon the ſame Climate, though the Inhabitants are changed. The quality of the* French *in private, at the Church, and at the table. Their language, complements, diſcourſe,* &c.

JULY the third, which was the day we ſet out of St. *Claire*, having paſſed through *Pontoyſe*, and croſſed the river, we were entred into *France*: *France* as it is underſtood

in its limited ſenſe, and as a part only of the whole, for when *Meroveus*, the Grandchild of *Pharamond*, firſt King of the *Franci* or *Frenchmen*, had taken an opportunity to paſſe the *Rhine*, having alſo during the wars between the *Romans* and the *Gothes*, taken *Paris*; he reſolved there to ſet up his reſt, and to make that the head City of his Empire. The Country round about it, which was of no large extent, he commanded to be called *Francia*, or *Terra Francorum*, after the name of his *Frankes* whom he governed. In this bounded and reſtrained ſenſe, we now take it, being confined with *Normandy* on the North, *Champagne* on the Eaſt, and on the Weſt and South with the Province of *La Beauſſe*. It is incircled in a manner with the *Oyle* on the Northwards, the *Eure* on the Weſt, the *Velle* on the Eaſt, and a veine riveret of the *Seine* towards the South; but the principall environings are made by the *Seine*, and the *Marne* a river of *Campagne*, which conſtitute that part hereof which commonly and κατ' ἐξοχὴν, is called by the name of the Iſle of *France*, and within the main Iſland makes divers little petty Iſles, the waters winding up and down, as deſirous to recreate the earth with the pleaſures of its lovely and delicious embraces.

This Iſle, this portion of *Gaul*, properly and limitedly ſtyled *France*, was the ſeat of the *Francs* at their firſt coming hither, and hath ſtill continued ſo. The reſt of *Gallia*, is in effect rather ſubdued by the *French*, then inhabited; their valour in time having taken in thoſe Countries which they never planted: ſo that if we look apprehenſively into *Gaule*, we ſhall finde the other Nations of it, to have juſt cauſe to take up that complaint of the King of *Portugall* againſt *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, for aſſuming to himſelf the title of *Catholick King of Spain*; *Ejus tam non exigua parte penes reges alios*, as *Mariana* relateth it. Certain it it, that the leaſt part of all *Gallia* is in the hands of the *French*, the *Normans*, *Britons*, *Biſcaines* or *Gaſcons*, the *Gothes* (of *Languedoc* and *Provence*) *Burgundians*, and the antient *Gaules* of *Poictou*, retaining in it ſuch fair and ample Provinces. But it is the cuſtome (ſhall I ſay) or fate of leſſer and weaker Nations, to loſe their names unto the ſtronger; as wives do to their husbands, and the ſmaller rivers to the greater. Thus we ſee the little Province of

Poland

Poland to have maſtered and given name to the *Pruteni*, *Mazovii*, and other Nations of *Sarmatia Europæa*; as that of *Moſco* hath unto all the Provinces of *Aſiatica*. Thus hath *Sweden* conquered and denominated almoſt all the great *Peninſula* of *Scandia*; whereof it is but a little parcell: and thus did the *Engliſh Saxons* being the moſt prevailing of the reſt, impoſe the name of *Engliſh* on all the people of the *Heptarchie*.

Et dedit impoſito nomina priſca jugo.

And good reaſon the vanquiſhed ſhould ſubmit themſelves as well unto the appellation, as the laws of the victor. The *French* then are poſſeſſors of ſome parts of old *Gallia*, and maſters of the reſt; poſſeſſors not of their Cities only, but their conditions. A double victory, it ſeemeth, they enjoyed over that people, and took from them at once, both their qualities and their Countries. Certainly whoſoever will pleaſe to peruſe the Commentaries of *Julius Cæſar*, *de bello Gallico*; he will equally gueſſe him an Hiſtorian and a Prophet; yea he will rather make himſelf believe, that he hath prophecied the character of the preſent *French*, then delivered one of the antient *Gaule*. And indeed, it is a matter worthy both of wonder and obſervation, that the old *Gaules*, being in a manner all worne out, ſhould yet have moſt of their conditions ſurviving in thoſe men, which now inhabit that region, being of ſo many ſeverall Countries and originals. If we dive into naturall cauſes, we have a ſpeedy recourſe unto the powerfull influence of the heavens; for as thoſe celeſtiall bodies conſidered in the generall, do work upon all ſublunary bodies in the generall, by light, influence and motion; ſo have they a particular operation on particulars. An operation there is wrought by them in a man, as borne at ſuch and ſuch a minute; and again as borne under ſuch and ſuch a Climate. The one derived from the ſetting of the Houſes, and the *Lord* of the *Horoſcope* at the time of his Nativity; the other from that conſtellation which governeth as it were, the Province of his birth, and is the *genius* or *deus tutelaris loci*. *Hinc illa ab antiquo vitia* (ſaith an Author mo-

dern rather in time then judgment) *& patriæ ſorte durantia, quæ totas in hiſtoriis gentes aut commendant aut notant.* Two or three Authors by way of parallel, will make it clear in the example, though it appear not obſcure in the ſearch of *cauſes*. *Primus Gallorum impetus imajor quam virorum, ſecundus minor quam fœminarum*, ſaith *Florus* of the *Gaules*. What elſe is that which Mr. *Dallington* ſaith of the *French*, when he reporteth that they begin an action like thunder, and end it in a ſmoak? Their attempts on *Naples* and *Millain* (to omit their preſent enterpriſe on *Genoa*) are manifeſt proofs of it; neither will I now ſpeak of the battail of *Poictiers*, when they were ſo forward in the onſet, and furious in the flight. *Ut ſunt Gallorum ſubita ingenia*, ſaith *Cæſar*: & I think this people to be as hare-brained as ever were the other. *Juvenal* calleth *Gallia, fœcunda cauſidicorum*: and among the modern *French* it is related, that there are tryed more law-cauſes in one year, then have been in *England* ſince the Conqueſt. Of the antient *Germans*, the next neighbours and confederates of the *Gaules*, *Tacitus* hath given us this note, *Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum*; and preſently after, *De jungendis affinitatibus, de bello denique & pace, in conviviis conſultant.* Since the time of *Tacitus* hath *Germanie* ſhifted almoſt all her old inhabitants, and received new Colonies of *Lombards*, *Sueves*, *Gothes*, *Sclavonians*, *Hunns*, *Saxons*, *Vandals*, and divers other Nations not known to that writer. Yet ſtill is that exorbitancy of drinking in faſhion; and to this day do the preſent *Germans* conſult of moſt of their affairs in their cups. If the *Engliſh* have borrowed any thing of this humor, it is not to be thought the vice of the Countrey, but the times. To go yet higher and further, the Philoſopher *Anacharſis* (and he lived 600 and odd yeers before Chriſt) noted it in the *Greeks*, that at the beginning of their feaſts, they uſed little goblets, and greater towards the end, when they were now almoſt drunken, θαυμάζειν φησὶ πῶς Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνωσι, πληδύνλες δ' ἐν μεγάλοις, as *Laertius* reporteth it. *George Sandys* in the excellent diſcourſe of his own travailes, relateth the ſame cuſtome to continue ſtill amongſt them; notwithſtanding the length of time, and all the changes of ſtate and people which have ſince hapned. Their Empire indeed they have loſt, their valour, learning, and all

other

other graces which ſet them out in the ſight of the World; and no marvell theſe were not nationall conditions, but perſonall endowments. I conclude then thi d'greſſion with the words of *Barklay*, *Hæret itaque in omni gente vis quædam inconcuſſa, quæ hominibus pro conditione terrarum, in quibus naſci contigerit, ſua fata diviſerit.*

The preſent *French* then, is nothing but an old *Gaule* moulded into a new name, as raſh he is, and as head ſtrong, and as hare-brain'd. A nation whom you ſhall win with a feather, and loſe with a ſtraw. Upon the firſt ſight of him you ſhall have him as familiar as your ſleep, or the neceſſity of breathing. In one houres conference, you may indeer him to you, in the ſecond unbutton him; the third pumps him drie of all his ſecrets, and he gives them you as faithfully, as if you were his ghoſtly father, and bound to conceal them *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*: when you have learned this, you may lay him aſide, for he is no longer ſerviceable. If you have an humor of holding him in a further acquaintance, (a favour of which he confeſſeth, and I believe him, he is unworthy:) himſelf will make the firſt ſeparation. He hath ſaid over his leſſon to you, and muſt now finde out ſome body elſe to whom to repeat it. Fare him well, he is a garment whom I would be loath to wear above two days together, for in that time he will be thread-bare. *Familiare eſt homini omnia ſibi remittere*, ſaith *Velleius* of all; it holdeth moſt properly in this people. He is very kind-hearted to himſelf, and thinketh himſelf as free from wants, as he is full: ſo much he hath in him of the nature of a *Chinoy's*, that he thinketh all men blind but himſelf. In this pride of ſelf-conceitedneſſe he hateth the *Spaniard*, loveth not the *Engliſh*, and contemneth the *German*; himſelf is the only Courtier, and compleat Gentleman; but it is his own glaſſe which he ſeeth in, out of this conceit of his own excellency, and partly out of a ſhallowneſſe of brain; he is very liable to exceptions. The leaſt diſtaſt that can be, draweth his ſword, and a minutes pauſe ſheathes it to your hand. If afterwards you beat him into better manners, he ſhall take it kindly and cry *ſerviteur*. In this one thing they are wonderfully like the Devill, Meekneſſe or ſubmiſſion maketh them inſolent, a little reſiſtance

putteth them to their heels, or makes him your Spaniel. In a word (for I have held him too long) he is a walking vanity in a new fashion.

I will now give you a taste of his table, which you shall finde in a measure furnished; (I speak not of the *Paisant*:) but not in so full a manner as with us. Their Beef they cut out in so little chops, that that which goeth there for a laudable dish, would be thought here to be an University commons, new served from the hatch. A loine of Mutton serves amongst them for three roastings, beside the hazard of making pottage with the rump. Fowle also they have in good plenty, especially such as the King found in *Scotland*. To say truth, that which they have is sufficient for nature and a friend, were it not for the Mistresse of the Kitchin-wench. I have heard much fame of *French* Cooks, but their skill lyeth not in the handling of Beef or Mutton. They have (as generally have all this Nation) good fancies, and are speciall fellowes for the making of puffe-pastes, and the ordering of banquets. Their trade is not to feed the belly, but the palat. It is now time you were set down, where the first thing you must do, is to say your own Grace; private Graces are as ordinary there, as private Masses: and from thence I think they learned them. That done, fall to where you like best. They observe no methods in their eating, and if you look for a Carver, you may rise fasting. When you are risen, if you can digest the sluttishnesse of the cookery, (which is most abominable at first sight) I dare trust you in a Garrison. Follow him to Church, and there he will shew himself most irreverent and irreligious; I speak not this of all, but of the generall. At a Masse in the *Cordeliers* Church in *Paris*, I saw two *French Papists*, even when the most sacred mystery of their faith was celebrating, break out into such a blasphemous and Atheisticall laughter, that even an *Ethnick* would have hated it. It was well they were known to be *Catholicks*; otherwise some *French* hot-head or other, would have sent them laughing to *Pluto*.

The *French* language is, indeed, very sweet and delectable. It is cleared of harshnesse, by the cutting off, and leaving out the consonants, which maketh it fall off the tongue very volubly;

lubly; yet in my opinion, it is rather elegant then copious, and therefore is much troubled for want of words to find out periphraſes. It expreſſeth very much of it ſelf in the action. The head, body, and ſhoulders concurre all in the pronouncing of it; and he that hopeth to ſpeak it with a good grace, muſt have ſomewhat in him of the *Mimick*. It is inriched with a full number of ſignificant Proverbs, which is a great help to the *French* humor of ſcoffing; and very full of courtſhip, which maketh all the people complementall. The pooreſt Cobler in the Village hath his Court-cringes, and his *eau beniſte de Cour*, his court holy water, as perfectly as the Prince of *Conde*.

In the Paſſados of their court-ſhip, they expreſſe themſelves with much variety of geſture, and indeed, it doth not misbecome them. Were it as gratious in the Gentlemen of other Nations as in them, it were worth your patience; but the affectation of it is ſcurvy and ridiculous. *Quocunque ſalutationis artificio corpus inflectant, putes nihil iſta inſtitutione magis convenire. Vicinæ autem gentes ridiculo errore deceptæ, ejuſdem venuſtatis imitationem ludicram faciunt & ingratam*: as one happily obſerved at his being amongſt them. I have heard of a young Gallant, ſon to a great Lord of one of the three *Britiſh* Kingdoms, that ſpent ſome years in *France* to learn faſhions. At his return he deſired to ſee the King, and his father procured him an entervenie. When he came within the Preſence-chamber, he began to compoſe his head, and carry it as if he had been ridden with a Martingall: next he fell to draw back his legs and thruſt out his ſhoulders, and that with ſuch a graceleſſe apiſhneſſe, that the King asked him if he meant to ſhoulder him out of his chair, and ſo left him to act out his complement to the hangings. In their courtſhip they beſtow even the higheſt titles, upon thoſe of the loweſt condition. This is the vice alſo of their common talk. The begger begetteth *Monſieurs* and *Madams* to his ſons and daughters, as familiarly as the King. Were there no other reaſon to perſwade me, that the *Welch* or *Britains* were the deſcendants of the *Gaules*, this only were ſufficient, that they would all be Gentlemen.

His

His diſcourſe runneth commonly upon two wheels, *treaſon* and *ribaldrie*. I never heard people talke leſſe reverently of their Prince, nor more ſawcily of his actions. Scarce a day paſſeth away without ſome ſeditious Pamphlet printed and publiſhed, in the diſgrace of the King, or of ſome of his Courtiers. Theſe are every mans mony, & he that buyeth them is not coy of the Contents, be they never ſo ſcandalous; of all humors the moſt baſe and odious. Take him from this (which you can hardly do, till he hath told all) and then he falleth upon his ribaldry. Without theſe crutches, his diſcourſe would never be able to keep pace with his company. Thus ſhall you have them relate the ſtories of their own uncleanneſſe, with a face as confident, as if they had no accidents to pleaſe their hearers more commendable. Thus will they reckon up the ſeverall profanations of pleaſure, by which they have diſmanned themſelves; ſometimes not ſparing to deſcend to particulars. A valiant Captain never gloried more in the number of the Cities he had taken, then they do of the ſeverall women they have proſtituted.

Egregiam vero laudem & ſpolia ampla ———

Fooliſh and moſt periſhing wretches, by whom each ſeverall incontinencie is twice committed; firſt, in the act; and ſecondly, in the boaſt. By themſelves they meaſure others, and think them naturals, or *Simplicians*, which are not ſo conditioned. I proteſt, I was fain ſometimes to put on a little impudence, that I might avoid the ſuſpicion of a gelding or a ſheep-biter. It was St. *Auſtins* caſe, as himſelf teſtifyeth in the ſecond book of his Confeſſions, *Fingebam me* (ſaith that good Father) *feciſſe quod non feceram, ne cæteris viderer abjectior*. But he afterwards was ſorry for it, and ſo am I; and yet, indeed, there was no other way to keep in a good opinion, that unmanly and ungoverned people.

CHAP. II.

The French *Women, their perſons, prating and conditions. The immodeſty of the* French *Ladies. Kiſſing not in uſe among them; and the ſiniſter opinion conceived of the free uſe of it in* England. *The innocence and harmleſneſſe of it amongſt us. The impoſtures of* French Pandars *in* London, *with the ſcandall thence ariſing. The peccancie of an old* Engliſh *Doctor. More of the* French *Women. Their Marriages, and lives after wedlock,* &c. *An Elogie to the* Engliſh *Ladies.*

I Am come to the *French* Women, and it were great pity they ſhould not immediately follow the diſcourſe of the men, ſo like they are one to the other, that one would think them to be the ſame, and that all the difference lay in the apparell. For perſon, they are generally of an indifferent ſtature, their bodies ſtraight, and their waſtes commonly ſmall: but whether it be ſo by nature, or by much reſtraining of theſe parts, I cannot ſay. It is ſaid, that an abſolute woman ſhould have (amongſt other qualities requiſite) the parts of a *French* woman from the neck to the girdle; but I believe it holdeth not good, their ſhoulders and backs being ſo broad, that they hold no proportion with their midles; yet this may be the vice of their apparell. Their hands are, in mine opinion, the comlieſt and beſt ordered part about them, long, white and ſlender. Were their faces anſwerable, even an *Engliſh* eye would apprehend them lovely: but herein do I finde a *pretty contradictorie*. The hand, as it is the beſt ornament of the whole ſtructure, ſo doth it moſt diſgrace it. Whether it

be that ill diet be the cauſe of it, or that hot bloud wrought upon by a hot and ſcalding aire, muſt of neceſſity by ſuch means vent it ſelf, I am not ſure of. This I am ſure of, that ſcarce the tithe of all the maids we ſaw, had her hands and arme-wriſts free from ſcabs, which had over-run them like a leproſie. Their hair is generally black, and indeed, ſomewhat blacker then a gracious lovelineſſe would admit. The Poets commend *Leda* for her black hair, and not unworthily.

Leda fuit nigris conſpicienda comis.

As *Ovid* hath it.

Yet was that blackneſſe but a darker brown; and not ſo fearfull as this of the *French* women. Again, the blackneſſe of the hair is then accounted for an ornament, when the face about which it hangeth, is of ſo perfect a complexion and *ſymmetrie*, that it giveth it a luſtre. Then doth the hair ſet forth the face, as a ſhadow doth a picture; and the face becometh the haire, as a *field-argent* doth a *ſable-bearing*, which kind of Armory the *Heralds* call the moſt faireſt. But in this the *French* women are moſt unluckie. *Don Quixote* did not ſo deſervedly aſſume to himſelf the name of *The Knight of the ill-favoured face*, as may they, that of the *damoſels* of it. It was therefore a happy ſpeach of a young *French* gallant that came in our company out of *England*, and had it been ſpoken amongſt the Antients, it might have been regiſtred for an Apophthegme; that the *Engliſh* of all the people in the world were only *nati ad voluptates*. You have (ſaith he) the faireſt women, the goodlieſt horſes, and the beſt breed of dogs, under heaven. For my part, as far as I could in ſo ſhort a time obſerve, I dare in this firſt believe him. *England* not only being (as it is ſaid) *a paradiſe for women*, by reaſon of their priviledges; but alſo *a paradiſe of women*, by reaſon of their unmatchable perfections.

Their *diſpoſitions* hold good intelligence with their faces. You cannot ſay to them as *Sueton* doth of *Galba*, *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*. They ſuit ſo well one with another, that in my life I never met with a better *decorum*; but you muſt

muſt firſt hear them ſpeak. *Loquere ut te videam*, was the method in old times, and it holdeth now. You cannot gather a better character of a *French* woman, then from her prating, which is ſo tedious and infinite, that you ſhall ſooner want ears, then ſhe tongue. The *faſtidious* pratler which *Horace* mentioneth in his ninth *Satyre*, was but a *puiſnè* to her. The writers of theſe times, call the *Sicilians*, *Gerræ Siculæ*, and not undeſervedly; yet were they but the Scholars of the *French*, and learned this faculty of them, before the Veſpers. It is manners to give precedency to the Miſtreſſe, and ſhe will have it, if words may carry it. For two things I would have had *Ariſtotle* acquainted with theſe Starlings. Firſt, it would have ſaved him a labour in taking ſuch paines about finding out the perpetuall motion. Secondly, it would have freed him from an Hereſie with which his Doctrine is now infected, and that is, *Quiquid movetur, ab alio movetur*; their tongues, I am certain move themſelves, and make their own occaſions of diſcourſing. When they are going, they are like a watch, you need not winde them up above once in twelve houres, for ſo long the thread of their tongues will be in ſpinning. A dame of *Paris* came in Coach with us from *Roven*; fourteen houres we were together, of which time (I'le take my oath upon it) her tongue fretted away eleaven hours and 57 minutes. Such everlaſting talkers are they all, that they will ſooner want breath then words, and are never ſilent, but in the grave; which may alſo be doubted. As they are endleſſe in their talk, ſo alſo are they regardleſſe of the company they ſpeak in. Be you ſtranger or of their acquaintance, it much matters not; though indeed, no man is to them a ſtranger. Within an hour of the firſt ſight, you ſhall have them familiar more then enough, and as merry with you, as if they had known your bearing-clothes. It may be they are chaſte, and I perſwade my ſelf many of them are; but you will hardly gather it out of their behaviour. *Te tamen & cultus damnat*, as *Auſonius* of an honeſt woman that carried her ſelf leſſe modeſtly. They are abundantly full of laughter and toying, and are never without variety of laſcivious Songs; which they ſpare not to ſing in what company ſoever. You would think modeſty

were quite baniſhed the Kingdom; or rather, that it had never been there. Neither is this the weakneſſe of ſome few. It is an epidemicall diſeaſe, Maids and Wives are alike ſick of it, though not both ſo deſperately; the galliardy of the maids, being of the two a little more tolerable; that of the women coming hard upon the confines of *ſhameleſneſſe*. As for the Ladies of the Court, (I cannot ſay this, but upon hear-ſay) they are as much above them in their lightneſſe, as they are in their place; and ſo much the worſe in that they have made their lightneſſe impudent. For whereas the daughter of *Pythagoras*, being demanded what moſt ſhamed her to diſcourſe of, made anſwer ταῦτα δ' ἃ γυνὴ κέκτηται, *thoſe parts which made her woman*: theſe *French* dames will ſpeak of them, even in the hearing of men, as freely, and almoſt as broadly, as a Midwife, or a Barber-ſurgeon. Nay, I have heard a Gentleman of good credence relate, that being at a tilting, he ſaw a Courtier going to remove a boy, which very roguiſhly looked under a Ladies clothes: but when her Ladiſhip perceived his intention, ſhe hindred him with this complement, *Laiſſe, Monſeuir, laiſſe, les yeuxne ſont pas larrons*; the boyes eyes would ſteal nothing away; a very merciſull and gentle Lady. If that of *Juſtine* be ſtill true, *Vera mulierum ornamenta pudicitiam eſſe, non veſtes*; that modeſty were the beſt apparell of a woman; I am afraid many of the female ſex in *France* would be thinly clad, and the reſt go naked.

Being a people thus prone to a ſuddain familiarity, and ſo prodigall of their tongue and company, you would ſcarce imagine them to be coy of their lips. Yet this is their humor. It ſeemed to me ſtrange at firſt and uncivill, that a woman ſhould turn away from the proffer of a ſalutation. Afterward I liked the cuſtome very well, and I have good cauſe for it, for it ſaved me from many an unſavory piece of mannerlineſſe. This notwithſtanding could not but amaze me, that they who in their actions were ſo light and wanton, ſhould yet think themſelves modeſt, and confine all laſciviouſneſſe unto a kiſſe. A woman that is kiſſed, they account more then half whored, be her other deportment never ſo becoming; which maketh them very ſparing of receiving ſuch kindneſſes,

neſſes. But this is but a diſſembled unwillingneſſe, and hath ſomewhat in it of the *Italian*. For as they had rather murder a man in private, then openly ſpeak ill of him: ſo it may be thought that theſe Damoſels would hardly refuſe a mans bed, though education hath taught them to flie from his lip. Night and the curtains may conceal the one: the other can obtain no pardon in the eye of ſuch, as may happen to obſerve it.

Upon this ground your *French* Traveller, that perhaps may ſee their Hoſteſſe kiſſed at *Dover*, and a Gentleman ſalute a Lady in the ſtreets of *London*; relateth at his coming home, ſtrange *Chimera's* of the *Engliſh* modeſty. To further this ſiniſter opinion, he will not ſpare to tell his *Camerades* (for this I have noted to you, to be a part of his humor) what Merchants wives he enjoyed in *London*; and in what familiarity ſuch a Lady entertained him at *Weſtminſter*. Horrible untruths! and yet my poor gallant thinketh he lyeth not. I remember I met in *Paris* with an *Engliſh* Doctor and the Maſter of a Colledge there, who complained much of the laſciviouſneſs of the *Engliſh* women: and how infamouſly every *French* Taylor that came from us, reported of them: withall, he proteſted, that it did not grieve him much, becauſe he thought it a juſt judgement of God upon our Nation, that all the married men ſhould be cuckolds. A ſtrange piece of Divinity to me who never before had heard ſuch preaching: but this was the reaſon of the Doctrine: In the old *Engliſh* Maſſe-book called *Secundum uſum Sarum*, the woman at the time of marriage, promiſeth her future husband to be *bonny and buxom at bed and at board, till death us depart, &c.* This being too light for the gravity of the action then in hand, and in mine opinion ſomewhat leſſe reverend then a Church duty would require; the reformers of that book thought good to alter: and have put in the place of it, *to love, cheriſh and obey*. That this was a ſufficient aſſurance of a conjugal faith, he would not grant; becauſe the promiſe of being *Buxom* in bed was excluded. Beſides he accounted the ſuppoſed diſhoneſty of the *Engliſh* wives, as a vengeance plucked down upon the heads of the people, for chopping and changing the words of the holy Sacrament: (for ſuch they eſteem the form of

Matrimony) though his argument needed no answer, yet this accusation might expect one: and an *English* Gentleman (though not of the *English* Faith) thus laid open the abuse; and seemed to speak it out of knowledge. When the *Monsieurs* come over full pursed to *London*, the *French Pandars*, which lie in wait for such booties, grow into their acquaintance: and promise them the embraces of such a Dame of the City, or such a Lady of the Court; women perchance famed for admirable beauties. But as *Ixion* amongst the Poets expected *Juno*, and enjoyed a cloud: so these beguiled wretches in stead of those eminent persons mentioned to them, take into their bosomes some of the common prostitutes of the Town. Thus are they cousen'd in their desires, thus do they lie in their reports: whilest poor souls, they think themselves guilty of neither imposture.

For the other accursation, which would seem to fasten a note of immodesty upon our *English* womens lips: I should be like enough to confess the crime, were the *English* kisses like unto those of the *French*. As therefore Dr. *Dale* Master of the Requests, said unto *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, upon his dislike of the promiscuous sitting of men and women in our Churches; *Turpe quidem id esse apud Hispanos qui etiam in locis sacris cogitarent de explenda libidine, a qua procul aberant Anglorum mentes:* So do I answer to the bill of the complainant. An *Oxford* Doctor upon this text, *Betrayest thou the Son of man with a kisse?* made mention of four manner of kisses, *viz. Osculum charitatis, osculum gratioris familiaritatis, osculum calliditatis*, and *osculum carnalitatis*. Of these I will bestow the last on the *French*, and the third on the *Spaniards*; retaining the two first unto our selves: whereas the one is enjoyned by the precept, and the other warranted by the examples of holy Scripture. For my part, I see nothing in the innocent and harmless salutations of the *English*, which the Doctor calleth *Osculum gratioris familiaritatis*, that may move a *French mans* suspicion; much I confess to stir his envie. Perhaps a want of the like happiness to himself, maketh him dislike it in us: as the Fox that had lost his taile, perswaded all others to cut off theirs; but I have already

ready touched the reaſon, why that Nation is unworthy of ſuch a favour: their kiſſes being hot and ſulphury, and indeed nothing but the prologue to their luſts. Whereas on the contrary, and I dare be confident in it; the chaſte and innocent kiſſe of the *Engliſh* Gentlewomen, is more in heaven, then many of the beſt of their devotions. It were not amiſſe to explain in this place a verſe of *Ovids*, common in the mouthes of many, but the underſtanding of few. Thus then ſaith the Poet:

Oſcula qui ſumpſit, ſi non & cætera ſumpſit,
Hæc quoque quæ ſumpſit perdere dignus erit.

He that doth only kiſſe, and doth no more,
Deſerves to loſe the kiſſes given before.

Which muſt be underſtood according to the faſhion of *Rome* and *Italy* (and ſince of *France* and *Spain*); where they were given as pawns of a diſhoneſt contract: and not according to the cuſtomes of *England*, where they are only proffer'd in way of a gracious and innocent familiarity; and ſo accepted.

I return again to the *French* women; and though I may not kiſſe them (which he that ſeeth them will ſwear I have good cauſe to thank God for) yet they are at liberty to be courted: an office which they admit freely, and return as liberally. An office to which they are ſo uſed; that they can hardly diſtinguiſh complement from wooing, till the Prieſt expecteth them at the Church door. That day they ſet themſelves forth with all the variety of riches their credit can extend to. A Scholar of the Univerſity never diſfurniſhed ſo many of his friends, to provide for a journey, as they do neighbours, to adorn their wedding. At my being in *Pontoyſe*, I ſaw Mris. Bride returning from the Church. The day before ſhe had been ſomewhat of the condition of a Kitchen-wench, but now ſo tricked up with ſcarfs, rings, and croſs-garters, that you never ſaw a Whitſun-Lady better rigged. I ſhould much have applauded the fellowes fortune, if he could have married the clothes: but God be mer-

merciful to him) he is chained to the wench. Much joy may they have together most peerless couple!

Hymen, O Hymenæe Hymen, Hymen O Hymenæe.

The match was well knit up between them. I would have a *French* man marry none but a *French* woman.

Being now made mistress of an house, she can give her self a dispensation to drink wine: before she had a fling at the bottle by stealth, and could make a shift to play off her whole one in a corner: as St. *Austine* in the ninth book of his Confessions reporteth of his mother *Monica*. Now she hath her draughts like the second edition of a book, augmented and revised: and which is more, published *cum privilegio*. Her house she doth keep as she doth her self. It would puzzle a strong judgement, to resolve which of the two are the more nasty: yet after ten of the clock, you may come nigh her; for by that time she hath not only eaten, but it may be her hall hath had a brushing: if you be not careful of your time, you shall commonly finde her speechless; her mouth being stopped with some of the reliques of last nights supper. To five meals a day she is very constant; and for varieties sake, will make some of them at street-door. She is an exceeding good soul (as *Sancho Panco* said of his wife) and one that will not pine her self, though her heirs smart for it. To her husband she is very servile, seldome sitteth with him at the table, readily executeth all his commands, and is indeed rather a married servant then a wife: or an houshold drudge under the title of a Mistress: yet on the other side she hath freedome enough, and certainly much more then a moderate wisdome would permit her. It is one of her *jura conjugalia* to admit of Courtship, even in the sight of her husband; to walk arm in arm about the streets or into the fields with her *Privado*, to proffer occasions of familiarity and acquaintance at the first sight of one, whose person she relisheth: and all this *sans soupsen*, without any the least imputation: a liberty somewhat of the largest, and we may justly fear that having thus wholly in her own power the keyes of the *Cabinet*, that she sheweth her jewels to more then her husband.

Such

Such are the *French* women; and such lives do they lead both maids and married.

Thou happy England: *thy four seas contain*
The pride of beauties: such as may disdain
Rivals on earth. Such at once may move
By a strange power, the envie, and the love
Of all the sex besides. Admit a dame
Of France *or* Spain, *passe in the breath of fame,*
And her thoughts, for fair: yet let her view
The commonst beauty of the English *crew;*
And in despair she'l execrate the day
Which bare her black; and sigh her self away.
So pin'd the Phrygian *dames and hang'd the head,*
When into Troy, Paris *did* Helen *lead.*
But boast not Paris, England *now enjoyes*
Helens *enough to sack a world of* Troyes.
So doth the vulgar tapers of the skie,
Lose all their lustre when the Moon is nigh.
Yet English *Ladies, glorious lights, as far*
Exceed the Moon; as doth the Moon a star.
So do the common people of the groves
Grow husht, when Philomel *recounts her loves.*
But when our Ladies sing, even she forbears
To use her tongue; and turns her tongue to ears.

Nay more; Their beauties should proud Venus *see,*
Shee'd blush her self out of her Deity:
Drop into Vulcans forge, her raign now done;
And yeeld to them her Empire, and her sun.
Yet this were needless. I can hardly finde
Any of this land stars, but straight my minde
Speaks her a Venus; *and me thinks I spie*
A little Cupid sporting in her eye.
Who thence his shafts more powerfully delivers,
Then ere did t'other Cupid from his quivers.

Such in a word they are; you would them gueſſe
An harmony of all the goddeſſes;
Or ſwear that partial Nature at their birth,
Had rob'd the heavens to glorifie the earth.

Such though they are, yet mean theſe graces bin
Compar'd unto the vertues lodg'd within:
For needs the Jewels muſt be rich and precious,
When as the Cabinet is ſo delicious.

Chap. III.

France *deſcribed. The valley of* Montmorancie, *and the Dukes of it.* Mont-martre. *Burials in former times not permitted within the wals. The proſecuting of this diſcourſe by manner of a journal, intermitted for a time. The Town and Church of St.* Denis. *The Legend of him, and his head. Of* Dagobert *and the Leper. The reliques to be ſeen there. Martyrs how eſteemed in St.* Auguſtine's *time. The Sepulchres of the* French *Kings, and the treaſury there. The Kings houſe of* Madrit. *The Queen Mothers houſe at* Ruall, *and fine devices in it. St.* Germains en lay, *another of the Kings houſes. The curious painting in it.* Gorramburie *Window: the Garden belonging to it, and the excellency of the Water-works. Boys St.* Vincent, de Vincennes, *and the Caſtle called* Biſeſter.

I Have now done with the *French*, both men and women: a people much extolled by many of our *Engliſh* Travellers, for all thoſe graces which may enoble & adorn both ſexes. For my part, having obſerved them as well as I could, and

and traced them in all their ſeveral humors: I ſet up my reſt with this propoſition, that *there is nothing in them to be envied but their Countrey.* To that indeed I am earneſtly, and I think not unworthily affected: here being nothing wanting which may be required, to raiſe and reward ones liking. If nature was ever prodigal of her bleſſings, or ſcattered them with an over-plentiful hand; it was in this Iſland: into which we were entred, as ſoon as we paſſed over the bridge of *Pontoyſe.* The firſt part of it, which laſted for three leagues; was upon the plain of a mountain: but ſuch a mountain, as will hardly yeeld to the beſt valley in *Europe*, out of *France.* On both ſides of us the Vines grew up in juſt length, and promiſed to the husbandman a thriving vintage. The Wines they yeeld are far better then thoſe of *Normandy*, or *Gaſcoyne*; and indeed the beſt in the whole Continent, thoſe of *Orleans* excepted: yet what we ſaw here, was but as a bit to prepare our ſtomachs; leſt we ſhould ſurfeit in the valley.

Here we beheld nature in her richeſt veſtiments. The fields ſo interchangeably planted with Wheat and Vines, that had *L. Florus* once beheld it, he would never have given unto *Campania* the title of *Cereris & Bacchi certamen.* Theſe fields were diſperſedly here and there, beſet with Cherry trees; which conſidered with the reſt, gave unto the eye an excellent object. For the Vines yet green; the Wheat ready for the ſithe; and the cherries now fully ripened, and ſhewing forth their beauties through the vails of the leaves: made ſuch a various and delightſome mixture of colours, that no art could have expreſſed it ſelf more delectably. If you have ever ſeen an exquiſite Moſaical work, you may the beſt judge of the beauty of this valley. Add to this, that the River *Seine* being now paſt *Paris*; either to embrace that flouriſhing ſoyle, or out of a wanton deſire to play with it ſelf, hath divided it ſelf into ſundry leſſer channels; beſides its ſeveral windings and turnings: ſo that one may very juſtly, and not irreligiouſly, conceive it to be an Idea, or repreſentation of the Garden of *Eden*: the river ſo happily ſeparating it ſelf, to water the ground. This valley is of a very large circuit; and as the *Welch men* ſay of *Angleſey.*

Mon mam Gymrye; id est, Angleſey is the mother of *Wales*: ſo may we call this the mother of *Paris*. For ſo abundantly doth it furniſh that great and populous City, that when the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* beſieged it with 100000 men; there being at that time 3 or 400000 Citizens and Souldiers within the wals: neither the people within, nor the enemies without, found any want of proviſion.

It is called the Valley of *Montmorency*, from the Town or Caſtle of *Montmorency* ſeated in it: but this town nameth not the Valley only. It giveth name alſo to the ancient family of Dukes of *Montmorency*, the antienteſt houſe of Chriſtendome. He ſtileth himſelf *Le primier Chriſtien & plus viel Baron de France*: and it is ſaid that his anceſtors received the Faith of Chriſt by the preaching of St. *Denis*, the firſt Biſhop of *Paris*. Their principal houſes are that of *Chantilly*, and *Ecquoan*, both ſeated in the Iſle: this laſt being given unto the preſent Dukes Father, by King *Henry* 4. to whom it was confiſcated by the condemnation of one of his Treaſurers. This houſe alſo (and ſo I leave it) hath been obſerved to have yeelded to *France*, more Conſtables, Marſhals, Admirals, and the like officers of power and command, then any three other in the whole Kingdome. Inſomuch that I may ſay of it, what *Irenicus* doth of the Count *Palatines*, the name of the Countrey only changed: *Non alia Galliæ eſt familia, cui plus debeat nobilitas*. The now Duke, named *Henry*, is at this preſent Admiral of *France*.

The moſteminent place in all this Iſle is *Mont-martre*, eminent I mean by reaſon of its height; though it hath alſo enough of antiquity to make it remarkable. It is ſeated within a mile of *Paris*, high upon a mountain: on which many of the faithfull, during the time that *Gaule* was heatheniſh, were made Martyrs. Hence the name. Though *Paris* was the place of apprehenſion and ſentence, yet was this Mountain commonly the ſcaffold of execution: it being the cuſtome of the ancients, neither to put to death, nor to bury within the wals of their Cities. Thus the *Jewes* when they crucified our Saviour, led him out of the City of *Hieruſalem* unto Mount *Calvarie*: unto which St. *Paul* is thought to allude, Heb. 13. ſaying, *Let us therefore go forth*

to

to him, &c. Thus also doth St. *Luke* (to omit other instances) report of St. *Stephen*, Act. 7. *And they cast him out of the city, and stoned him.* So in the state of *Rome*, the Vestall Virgin having committed fornication, was stifled in the *Campus sceleratus*; and other malefactors thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock: both situate without the Town. So also had the *Thessalians* a place of execution, from the præcipice of an hill, which the called the κόρακες, or *Corvi:* whence arose the proverb εἰς κόρακας, be hanged. As they permitted not executions of malefactors within their wals: so neither would they suffer the best of their Citizens to be buried within them. This was it which made *Abraham* to buy him a field wherein to bury his dead: and thus we read in the 7. of *Luke*, that the widow of *Naims* son was *carried out to be buried.* This custome also we find amongst the *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, and other of the *Grecians*, *Qui in agris suis* (as saith *Alexander ab Alexandro*) *aut in fundo suburbano, seu in avito & patrio solo, corpora humari consuevere.* Amongst the *Romans*, it was the fashion to burn the bodies of the dead, within their City. This continued till the bringing in of the Lawes of *Athens*, commonly called the Lawes of the 12. Tables: one of which Lawes runneth in these words, *In urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.* After this prohibition, their dead corps were first burned in *Campus Martius*; and their urnes covered in sundry places in the fields. The frequent urnes or sepulchral stones, digged up amongst us here in *England*, are sufficient testimonies of this assertion. Besides we may finde in *Appian*, that the chief reason why the rich men in *Rome* would not yeeld to that Law, called *Lex Agraria*, or the Law of dividing the *Roman* possessions equally among the people, was, because they thought it an irreligious thing that the Monuments of their forefathers should be sold unto others. The first that is registred to have been buried in the City, was *Trajan* the Emperour. Afterwards it was granted as an honourary to such as had deserved well of the republick: and when the Christian Religion prevailed, and Church-yards, those dormitories of Saints were consecrated; the liberty of burying within the wals, was to all equally granted.

On this ground it not being lawful to put to death or bury, within the Town of *Paris*; this Mountain was deſtinate to thoſe purpoſes. Then was it only a Mountain; now it is enlarged unto a Town: it hath a poor wall, an Abbey of *Benedictine* Monks, and a Chappel called *La Chapelle des Martyrs*; both founded by *Lewis* the 6. called the Groſſe. Amongſt others, which received here the Crown of Martyrdome, none more famous then St. *Denis* (ſaid to be *Dionyſius Areopagita*) the firſt Biſhop of *Paris*; *Ruſticus* his Archprieſt; and *Eleutherius*, his Deacon. The time when, under the reign of *Domitian*; the perſon by whoſe command, *Feſceninus* Governor of *Paris*; the crime, for not bowing before the Altar of *Mercury*, and offering ſacrifice unto him. Of St. *Denis* being the patron or tutelary Saint of *France*, the Legend reports ſtrange wonders. As namely, when the Executioner had ſmitten off his head, that he caught it between his armes; and ran with it down the hill as faſt as his legs could carry him; half a mile from the place of his execution, he ſate down and reſted: and ſo he did nine times in all, even till he came to the place where his Church is now built. There he fell down and died, being three *Engliſh* miles from *Mont-martre*: and there he was buried together with *Ruſticus*, and *Eleutherius*, who not being able to go as faſt as he did, were brought after him by the people. *O impudentiam admirabilem & vere Romanam!* and yet ſo far was the ſucceeding age poſſeſſed with a belief of this miracle, that in the nine ſeveral places where he is ſaid to have reſted there are erected ſo many hanſome Croſſes of ſtone; all of a making.

To the memory of this Saint, did *Dagobert* the firſt build a Temple: and the times enſuing improved it to a Town. Afterwards in honour of St. *Denis*, and becauſe it lay neer *Paris*; ſome of the following Kings beſtowed a wall upon it. A wall it is of a large circuit, and very much unproportionable to the Town, which ſtandeth in it, for all the world like a *Spaniards* little face in his great ruffe, or like a ſmall chop of Mutton in a large diſh of pottage at the three penny Ordinary. Thus was the Town built (as you ſee) by natural means: but it was not ſo with the Temple. Unleſſe that be worth a miracle, both in the building, and in the conſecrating of it: I will not give a ſtraw for it.

Thus

Thus, then ſaith the ſtory. *Diagobert* afterwards King of *France*, during the life of *Clotoyre* the ſecond his Father, had cruelly ſlain *Sadraſegille* his governour. To avoid the fury of his Father, much incenſed with that unprincely action; he was compelled to wander up and down *France* hungry and thirſty. And ſo he went, and he went, (for this tale ſhould be told in the ſame ſtile, that wenches tell theirs by the fire ſide) till he came to the Sepulchre of St. *Denis*, where he laid down and ſlept: and then there appeared unto him a fine old man, with a ſtaffe in his hand, and he told him that his father was dead, and that he ſhould be King, and he prayed him of all loves, that when he came to be King, he would build a Church there, in the honour of St. *Denis*. He had an hard heart, that could deny ſo ſweet an old man ſo little a courteſie, for ſo much good newes, and I trow the King was more kinde then ſo. And ſo when the Church was built, the Biſhop was ſent for in all haſte to bleſſe it. But it chanced that the night before the day wherein the Biſhop was to bleſſe it, there came to the Town an ugly Leper, and the ſouleſt that ever was ſeen: and this Leper would needs lie in the Church. And when he was there, about twelve a clock at night, our Saviour came into the Church in garments as white as the driven ſnow, and there came with him the Apoſtles, and the Angels and the Martyrs, and the ſweeteſt Muſick that ever was heard in the world. And then Chriſt bleſſed the Church, and ſaid unto the Leper, that he ſhould tell the Biſhop that the Church was already bleſſed, and for a token of it, he gave the Leper his health, who preſently became as fine a ſweet youth as one ſhould ſee in a ſummers day. *Auditum admiſſi riſum teneatis?* you may laugh if you pleaſe, but I'le aſſure you this is the ſtory: neither is it a jot the leſſe authentick becauſe of the ſtile. Such ridiculous ſtuffe, did the Fryers and Munks of thoſe times invent to pleaſe and blinde the people. So prone were our Anceſtors to believe as Oracles, what ever was delivered unto them by theſe Impoſtors. *Majoribus noſtris tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temere crediderint etiam monſtroſa miracula: & quicquid famæ licet fingere, illis erat libenter laudire.* *Minutius Fælix* ſpake it of his foretathers

thers being Heathens: we may justly affirm it of ours also, being Christians.

But (to omit the additions of the Legend) true it is, that *Dagobert* the first, was the founder of the Church: which was after rebuilt and beautified by the 25. Abbot of it, called *Sugger*, in the reign of King *Lewis* the sixth. A reverend and comely fabrick, certainly it is; dark, as the Churches of those times commonly were: and none of the poorest. It maintaineth 262 Monks and an Abbot, whose single revenue is thought to be worth 10000 Crowns and upwards. The present Abbot is *Henry* of *Lorrein*, son to the Duke of *Guise*, a young Gentleman of some 14 years of age, or thereabouts: but of him more hereafter. The Abbot of it, among many other priviledges, hath a full power upon the lives, goods, and honours of his vassals: and hath a voice in the *Parliament* of *Paris*, as full and binding as any of the Counsellors there sitting. As for the Church it self, it is in height 80 foot, 100 in breadth; and in length 300. The high Altar, under which the bodies of St. *Denis* and his two fellow-Martyrs, are said to be buried; is a very rich and excellent work: the Crucifix which standeth over it, being all of pure gold, enchased with divers Pearls and precious Stones of great value. Before it hangeth a silver Lamp continually burning: and if you look about it, you shall see the richest and the faireſt glasse for painting, in all *France*; that of *Amiens* only excepted. One thing further I will note in this Church, before I come to to the Tombes and reliques; which is, how *Henry* 4. in this Church said his first Masse, after his last reconcilement to the Church of *Rome*. And good reason I have to say his last. For having been first brought up in the *Romish* Faith, he was by his Mother made a Protestant. At the massacre of *Paris*, fear of death or imprisonment, turned him Papist: liberty again made him an Hugonot. In this vein he continued till the year 1595. and then once more re-embosom'd himself into the *Roman* Synagogue; which was the time we now speak of. *Quo teneam nodo mutantem Protea vultum*? The only *Proteus* in matters of faith in our times. Doctor *Perne* was a Diamond to him.

It

It is now time I ſhould ſhew you the Reliques; but you muſt firſt ſtay till the Clerk hath put on his Surplice. I have heard of a blinde Prieſt that could never mumble over his Maſſe handſomely without his ſpectacles. This fellow and his ſurplice is juſt like him. I perſwaded my ſelf that the Surplice without the Clerk, could marſhall the Reliques, as well as the Clerk without the Surplice. As ſoon as he was ſadled for his journey, he putteth himſelf into his way; and followed it with a pace ſo nimble, that there was no keeping of him company: his tongue ran ſo faſt, that the quickeſt eye there, was fain to give him over in plain ground: the fellow that ſheweth the Tombs at *Weſtminſter*, being no more to be compared to him, for the volubility of his chops, then a Capuchin to a Jeſuite: yet as we learned afterwards of him (when he was out of his road) they were thus diſpoſed. On the right hand of the Altar, (not the high Altar above mentioned) there are ſaid to be kept one of the Nails which faſtned our Saviour to the Croſſe. 2. A piece of the Croſſe it ſelf. 3. Some of the Virgin *Maries* Milk. 4. The arm of St. *Simeon* ſet in a caſe of gold. And 5. The reliques of St. *Lewis* reſerved in a little chappel, all of gold alſo; and built in the faſhion of the *Noſtre dame in Paris*. On the left, there was ſhewed us the head of St. *Denis* and a part of his body. But I miſtake my ſelf, it was not the head, but the portraiture of it in gold; the head being ſaid to be within it; by his repreſentation he ſeemeth to have had a very reverend and awfull countenance: though I perſwade my ſelf that the rich Crown and Miter which he there weareth (and certainly they are of a high value) never belonged to him in his life. On each ſide of the head are two Angels ſupporting it, all of gold alſo: both which together with the head and ornaments ſupported, are reported to be the work of one *Eloy*, *le plus artificiel orfeure de ſon temps*, the cunningeſt Goldſmith of his time; who afterwards was made Biſhop of *Noyon*, and Sainted.

Concerning Reliques I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further, when I come to the holy Chappel in *Paris*; ſomewhat now of the honour due unto the memory of Martyrs. I am none of thoſe that think the memories of thoſe Heroes of

the primitive times, not to be honoured in the duſt; neither would I aſſault their *ſhrines* with an irreverent finger: on the other ſide, they ſhall never have my prayers directed to them, nor my devotions; nor can I think it lawfull to give the remnants of them any bodily obſervance. Though I do and will honour, I dare not worſhip them. St. *Auſtin* hath cut out a mid-way between the *Papiſt* and the *Zelot*, in the 8 Book of his moſt excellent work *De Civitate dei*, and his path it is beſt to follow, *Honoramus ſane memorias eorum tanquam ſanctorum hominum Dei, qui uſque ad mortem corporum pro veritate certarunt*: and a little after, he ſheweth the end of theſe memorials, *viz. Ut ea celebritate Deo vere gratias de eorum victoriis agamus, & nos ad imitationem talium coronarum eorum memoriæ renovatione adhortemur.* One relique there is of which this uſe cannot poſſibly be made; and what do you think that ſhould be, but the Lanthorn which *Judas* uſed when he went to apprehend his Maſter? a prety one it is (I confeſſe) richly beſet with ſtuddes of Cryſtall, through which all the light cometh; the main of it being of a ſubſtance not tranſparent. Had it been ſhewed me within the firſt *century* of years after the paſſion, I might, perhaps, have been fooled into a belief; for I am confident it can be no older. Being as it is, I will acknowledge it to be a Lanthorn, though it belonged not to *Judas*.

From the *reliques* of *Martyrs*, proceed we to thoſe of *Kings*; and amongeſt thoſe there is nothing which will long detain an *Engliſh* man. He that hath ſeen the tombs at *Weſtminſter* will think theſe to be but trifles, if he conſider the workmanſhip, or the riches and the magnificence. The chief of thoſe many mean ones which are there, are thoſe of *Henry* II. and *Katharine de Medices* his wife, in a little Chappell of their own building; both in their full proportion, and in their royall habiliments, exceeding ſtately. There is alſo a neat tomb of the ſame *Henry*, built all of braſſe, and ſupported by four braſſe pillars: his Statua of the ſame mettle placed on the top of it, and compoſed as if at his prayers. The reſt are more in tale then weight. But the chief beauties of this Church, are in the treaſurie, which it was not my happineſſe to ſee. As I am informed, the moſt remarkable

things

things in it are these, The Swords of *Joan* the Virgin, *Charles* the great, *Rowland* his cousen, and that of *Henry* IV. when he was Crowned. His Boots, Crown and Scepter, as those also of his son *Lewis* now reigning. A crosse three foot high, made of pure gold. A Crown, Scepter and golden ball, given by Pope *Adrian* to *Carolus magnus*. A golden Crown of larger size, bedecked with Adamants and other pretious stones; given by *Charles Martell* after his victories over the *Saracens*. A very fair Chalice all of gold, in which St. *Denis* is reported to have consecrated the *Sacramentall wine*. The others of lesser note, I purposely omit, for having not seen them, I am loath to go any further upon trust. And so I leave St. *Denis*, a Church so richly furnished, that had I seen all the rarities and glories of it, that only days content had deserved our journey; *sed hæc infelici nimia*.

Not to continue this discourse any longer by way of journall, or *gesta dierum*. Few dayes after we had wearied our selves with the sight of *Paris*, we went to see some of their Majesties houses in the Countrey. And here we passed by *Madrit*, so called of the King of *Spains* house at *Madrit*, after the forme of which it is built. The founder of it was *Francis* the first, who being taken Prisoner at the battail of *Pavie*, *ann. dom.* 1525. and thence carryed into *Spain*, had no lesse then a twelve months time to draw the platforme. A fine Countrey house it seemed to be; but our journey lay beyond it. One league beyond it lay *Ruall*, a small Town belonging to the Abbey of St. *Denis*. In a corner of this Town the Queen Mother hath a fine summer house, abundantly adorned with retired walks, and a most curious variety of water-works: for besides the formes of divers glasses, pillars, and Geometricall figures, all framed by the water; there were birds of sundry sorts so artificially made, that they both deceived the eye by their motion, and the ear by their melodie. Somewhat higher in the middest of a most delicious Garden, are two Fountains of admirable workmanship: In the first, the portraitures of *Cerberus*, the *Boar* of *Calydon*, the *Nemean* Lyon; and in the navell of it *Hercules* killing *Hydra*. In the other only a *Crocodile* full of wild and unruly tricks, and sending from

his throat muſick not much different from Organs. Had your eyes been ſhut, you would have thought your ſelf in ſome Cathedrall Church: this melody of the *Crocodile*, and that other of the birds, ſo exactly counterfeiting the harmonie of a well ordered Quire. And now we are come into the Grove, a place ſo full of retired walks, ſo ſweetly and delectably contrived, that they would even entice a man to melancholy, becauſe in them even melancholy would prove delightfull. The trees ſo interchangeably folded one within the other, that they were at once a ſhelter againſt winde and ſun: yet not ſo ſullenly cloſe, but that they afforded the eye an excellent Lordſhip over the Vines and verdure of the earth impriſoned within them: it ſeemed a Grove, an Orchard, and a Vineyard, ſo variouſly interwoven and mixt together, as if it had been the purpoſe of the Artiſt to make a man fall in love with confuſion. In the middle of this Wilderneſſe was ſeated the houſe, environed round about with a Moat of running water. The houſe pretty, and therefore little; built rather for a banquet, then a feaſt. It was built and enriched with this variety of pleaſures, by Mr. *de Ponte*, Taylor to King *Henry* IV. and was no queſtion the beſt garment that ever he cut out in his life. Dying, he gave it to Mr. *Landerboyne*, once his ſervant, and now his ſon by adoption; of whom the Queen Mother taking a liking to it, bought it; giving him in exchange, an office in the Treaſury worth 400000 crowns to be ſold.

Two leagues from *Ruall*, is the Kings houſe of St. *Germain en Olay*, a houſe ſeated on the top of a hill juſt like *Windſore*, The Town of St. *Germain* lyeth all about it, the river *Seine* (of the ſame breadth as the *Thames* is at the place mentioned) runneth below it; and the houſe by reaſon of the ſite, having a large command upon the Country round about it. The Town is poor and hath nothing in it remarkable but the name, which it took from St. *Germain* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, who together with St. *Lupus* Biſhop of *Tropes*, ſailed into *Britain* to root out *Pelagianiſm*. The Caſtle or ſeat Royall is divided into two parts, the old and the new; the old, which is next unto the Town, is built of Bricks, and for forme it is triangular: founded it was at the firſt by

Charles

Charles V. since strengthned and beautified by the *English* when it was in their possession: *Francis* I. added to it the upper story and the battlements, and *in memoriam facti*, hath left a Capitall *F* upon every of the chimnies. The new house, distant from the old about a furlong, and to which you descend by a handsome green Court, was built by *Henry* IV. It consisteth of three severall parts, all joyned together, the two outermost quadrangular, that in the middle almost round and in the fashion of a *Jewish Synagogue*. Here we saw the Volatory full of sundry forain birds, and in one of the lower rooms great store of outlandish conies; but these were accessories. The principall was the majesty of the house, which is, indeed, worth the observation. The Palace of the *Loure* so much famed, is not to be named in the same day with it. The rooms are well ordered, and high roofed, gorgeously set out with the curiosities of the Painter. In some of the Chambers they shewed us some Poeticall fictions expressed by the pencill in the windowes and on the wainscot, and seemed to glory much in them. I confesse they might have plentifully possessed my fancy, had I not seen the window of *Gorrambury gallery*, belonging to the Right Honorable *Francis Viscount* St. *Albans*; a window in which all the Fables of *Ovids Metamorphosis*, are so naturally and lively dissembled, that if ever art went beyond it self, it was in that admirable expression.

Let us now take a view of the water-works, and here we shall see in the first water-house, which is a stately large walk vaulted over head, the effigies of a Dragon, just against the entrance; an unquiet beast that vomiteth on all that come nigh it. At the end toward the right hand is the Statua of a Nymph sitting before a paire of Organs. Upon the loosing of one of the pipes, the Nymphs fingers began to manage the keyes, and brought the instrument to yield such a musick, that if it were not that of an Organ, it was as like it as could be, and not be the same. Unto the division of her fingers, her head kept a porportionable time; jolting from one shoulder to the other, as I have have seen an old fidler at a Wake. In the same proportion were the counterfeits of all sorts of mils, wch before very eagerly discharged their functi-

ons; but upon the beginning of this harmony, they ſuddenly ſtood ſtill, as if they had had ears to have heard it. At the other end towards the left hand, we ſaw a ſhop of Smiths, another of Joiners, and a backſide full of Sawyers and Maſons, all idle. Upon the firſt command of the water, they all fell to their Occupations, and plyed them luſtily; the birds every where ſinging, and ſo ſaving the Artificers the labour of a whiſtling. Beſides, upon the drawing of a woodden courtain, there appeared unto us, two Tritons riding on their Dolphins, and each of them with a ſhell in his hand, which interchangeably and in turns ſerved them in ſtead of trumpets. A very happy *decorum*, and truly Poeticall.

Cæruleum Tritona vocat, conchaque ſonanti
Inſpirare jubet, ———

As *Ovid* of him.

Afterward followes Neptune himſelf, ſitting in his Chariot, drawn with four Tortoyſes, and graſping his *tricuſpis* or three forked Scepter in his hand: the water under them repreſenting, all this while, a ſea ſomewhat troubled. 36 ſteps from the front of the houſe we deſcended into this water-houſe; and by 60 more we deſcended into a ſecond of the ſame faſhion, but not of an equall length with the other. At the right hand of this, is the whole ſtory of *Perſeus*, *Andromeda* and the Whale lively acted; the Whale being killed, and the Lady unlooſed from the rock very perfectly. But withall, it was ſo cunningly managed, and that with ſuch a mutuall change of fortune, on the parties of both the combatants, that one who had not known the fable, would have been ſore affraid that the Knight would have loſt the victory, and the Lady her life. At the other end there was ſhown unto us,

Orpheus in ſylvis poſitus, ſylvæque ſequentes.

There appeared unto us the reſemblance of *Orpheus*, playing on a treble Viall, the trees moving with the force of the muſick,

muſick, and the wilde beaſts dancing in two rings about him. An invention which could not but coſt K. *Henry* a great ſum of money; one only ſtring of the fidle being by miſchance broken, having coſt King *Lewis* his ſon 1500 Livres. Upon the opening of a double-leaved door, there were exhibited to us divers repreſentations and conceits, which certainly might have been more gracefull, if they had not ſo much in them of the puppet play. By ſome ſteps more we deſcended into the Garden, and by as many more into a Green, which opened into the water ſide; in which the goodlieſt flower and moſt pleaſing to my eyes, was the *ſtatua* of an horſe in braſſe, of that bigneſſe, that I and one of my companions could ſtand in the neck of him. But diſmounting from this horſe, we mounted our own, and ſo took our leaves of St. *Germain*.

On the other ſide of *Paris*, and up the river, we ſaw an other of the Kings houſes, called St. *Vincent* or *Vincennes*. It was beautified with a large part by *Philip Auguſtus*, *anno* 1185. who alſo walled the Park, and repleniſhed it with Deer. In this houſe have dyed many famous perſonages, as *Philip* the fair, *Lewis Hutin*, and *Charles* the fair; but none ſo much to be lamented as that of our *Henry* V. cut down in the flower of his age, and middeſt of his victories: a man moſt truly valiant, and the *Alexander* of his times. Not far from thence is an old Caſtle, once ſtrong, but time hath made it now unſerviceable. The people call it *Chaſteau Biſeſtre*, corruptly for *Vinceſtre*; which makeſh me believe it was built by the *Engliſh* when they were maſters of this Iſle.

CHAP.

Chap. IV.

Paris, *the names and antiquity of it. The ſituation and greatneſſe. The chief ſtrength and Fortifications about it. The ſtreets and buildings.* King James *his laudable care in beautifying* London. *King* Henry *the fourths intent to fortifie the Town. Why not actuated. The Artifices and wealth of the* Pariſians. *The bravery of the Citizens deſcribed under the perſon of a Barber.*

NOw we are come unto *Paris*, whither, indeed, I ſhould have brought you the ſame day we came from *Pontoyſe*.

It hath had in diverſages, two ſeverall names; the one taken from the people, the other from the ſituation; the name taken from the people is that of *Paris*. *J. Cæſar* in his *Commentaries* making mention of the Nation of the *Pariſii*, and at that time calling this City *Urbem Pariſiorum*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calleth it by the ſame appellative; for as yet the name of *Paris* was not appropriated unto it. As for theſe *Pariſii*, it is well known that they were a people of *Gallia Celtica*; but why the people were ſo called, hath been queſtioned, and that deſervedly. Some derive them from a ſon of *Paris* the ſon of *Priam*: but the humour of deriving all nationall originations from *Troy*, hath long ſince been hiſſed out of the Schoole of Antiquity. The *Beroſus* of *John Annius* bringeth them from one *Paris* King of the *Celtæ*; and his authority is alike authenticall. The baſtards which this *Annius* impoſed upon the Antient writers, are now taught to know their own father. Others deduce it from παῤῥησία, a Greek word importing boldneſſe of ſpeech; which is approved by *William* of *Breton*, in the firſt book of his *Phillipiades*.

Finibus

Finibus egreſſi patriis, per Gallica rura
Sedem quærebant, ponendis mœnibus aptam,
Et ſe Pariſios dixerunt, nomine Græco,
Quod ſonat expoſitum noſtris, audacia, verbis.

Leaving their native ſoil, they ſought through *Gaul*
A place to build a City, and a wall,
And call'd themſelves *Pariſians*; which in Greek
Doth note a prompt audacity to ſpeak.

It is ſpoken of thoſe *Gaules*, who coming out of the more Southern parts, here planted themſelves. Neither is it improbable, that a *Gallick* nation ſhould aſſume to it ſelf a Greek name, that language having taken good footing in theſe parts, long before *Cæſars* time, as himſelf teſtifyeth in his *Commentaries*. How well this name agreeth with the *French* nature, I have already manifeſted in the character of this people, both men and women. But I will not ſtand to this *etymologie*. The names of great Cities are as obſcure as thoſe of their founders; and the conjecturall derivations of them are oftentimes rather plauſible then probable; and ſometimes neither. As for the antiquity of it, it is ſaid to be built in the time of *Amaſia* King of *Judah*; but this alſo is uncertain: the beginnings of antient Cities, being as dark and hidden, as the reaſons of their names. Certain it is, that it is no *puiſnè* in the world; it being a ſtrong and opulent Town in the dayes of *Julius Cæſar*.

The other name of this City, which is indeed the antient, and was taken from the ſituation of it, is *Lutetia*, from *lutum* dirt; as being ſeated in an exceeding clammy and dirty ſoil. To this alſo conſenteth the abovenamed *William* of *Breton*, in his ſaid firſt Book of the *Philippiades*, ſaying,

——— *Quoniam tunc temporis illam*
Reddebat palus & terræ pinguedo lutoſam,
Aptum Pariſii poſuere Lutetia nomen.

And ſince the Fens, and clammy ſoil did make
Their City dirty: for that reaſons ſake,
The Town, the name *Lutetia* did take.

As for the *Etymologie* of *Munſter*, who deriveth the name from *Luens* one of the Kings of the *Celtæ*: it may (for ought I know) deſervedly keep company with that of *Beroſus*, already recited. This name of *Lutetia* continued till the coming of the *Franks* into theſe parts: who to endeer the nation of the *Pariſii*, and oblige them the more faithfully to do them ſervice, commanded it for ever after to be called *Paris*. But the ſituation of this Town gave it not only the name; it gave it alſo (as the cuſtome of Godfathers in *England*) a chriſtning gift, which is the riches of it; and by conſequence, the preheminence. In how delicate and flouriſhing a ſoil it is ſituate, I have already told you in my deſcription of the vally of *Montmorencie* where it ſtandeth. If you will believe *Comines* in the firſt book of his Hiſtories, he will tell you, that *Ceſt la citè que jamais ie veiſſe environnè de meilleux pais et plantureux*; of all the Cities which ever he ſaw, it is environed with the beſt and fruitful'ſt Countrey. The river of *Seine* is alſo, no queſtion, a great help to the enriching of it; for though it be not Navigable unto the Town, yet it giveth free paſſage unto boats of an indifferent big burden, into which the ſhips are unladen, and ſo their commodities carryed up the water. A profitable entercourſe between the Sea and the City for the Merchants. Of theſe boats there are an infinite company that plie up and down the water, and more indeed, as the ſaid *Comines* is of opinion, than any man can believe that hath not ſeen them.

It is in circuite, as *Boterus* is of opinion, 12 miles. Others judge it at 10. For my part, I dare not gueſſe it to be above 8; and yet I was told by a *French* man, that it was in compaſſe no leſſe then 14 leagues within the wals; an untruth bigger then the Town. For figure it is circular, that being, according to *Geometricians*, of all figures the moſt capacious. And queſtionleſſe if it be true, that *Urbs non in mœnibus, ſed*

in

in civibus posita est; *Paris* may challenge as great a circuit as the most of *Europe*: it being little inferiour to the biggest, for the multitudes of her inhabitants. Joyne the compasse and the populousnesse together, and you shall hear the wisest of the *French* men say, that *Que ce qu' est l' ame a la raison, et la prunelle a l' oeil; cela mesme est Paris a la France.* Add to this the verdict of *Charles* V. who being demanded which he thought to be the biggest City of *France*: answered, *Roven:* and being then asked, what he thought of *Paris*: made answer, *Un pais*; that it was a whole Countrey. The Emperour did well to flatter *Francis* the first, who asked him these questions, and in whose power he then was; otherwise he might have given men good cause to suspect his judgement. The truth is, that *Paris* is a fair and goodly Town; yet withall, it is nothing like the miracle that some men make it. Were the figure of *London* altered, and all the houses of it cast into a Ring; I dare able it a larger and more goodly Town then *Paris*, and that in the comparison, it may give it at the least half a mile oddes.

For matter of strength and resistance, certain it is that this City is exceeding well seated, were it as well fortifyed. It lyeth in a plain flat levell, and hath no hils nigh unto it, from which it can any way be annoyed; and for the casting and making of rowling-trenches, I think the soil is hardly serviceable. If Art were no more wanting to the strength of it then Nature, in mine opinion, it might be made almost impregnable. *Henry* IV. seeing the present weakneſse of it, had once a purpose (as it is said) to have strengthned it according to the modern art of Fortifications. But it went no further then the purpose. He was a great builder, and had many projects of Masonry in his head, which were little for his profit; and this would have proved lesse then any. For besides the infinite sums of mony which would have been employed in so immense a work; what had this been in effect, but *to put a sword into the hand of a mad man?* The mutinies and sedition of this people have made it little inferiour to *Leige* or *Gaunt*, the two most revolting Towns of *Europe*. And again, the *Baricadoes* against the person of King *Henry* III. and the large resistance it made to himself,

being weak; were sufficient to instruct him what might be expected from it by his successors, when it should be strengthned and inabled to rebellion.

The present strength of the Town then is not great, the wals being very weak and ruinous; and those other few helps which it hath, being little availeable for defence. The beautifullest part of the whole resistance is the ditch, deep, precipitate and broad; and to say no more of it, an excellent ward, were there any thing else correspondent to it. As for the Fort next unto St. *Antonies* gate, called the *Bastille*; it is in my conceit too little to protect the Town, and too low to command it. When Swords only and Pick-axes were in use, and afterwards in the infancie of guns, it did some service in the nature of a Fortresse: now it serveth principally as a prison for those of the greater sort, who will permit themselves to be taken. It is said to be built by the *English*, when they were Lords of *Paris*, and the vulgar are all of this opinion. Others, of the more learned sort, make it to be the work of one of the Provosts of the City. *Du Chesne* calleth him *Hugues Aubriot*, in the time of *Charles* V. when as yet the *English* had nothing to do here. The word *Bastille* in generall, signifieth a Fortresse; the article *la*, prefixed before it, maketh it a name, and appropriateth it unto this building. There are also two little turrets, just against the gallery of the *Louure*, on both sides of the *Seine*, intended for the defence of the River; though now they are little able to answer that intention: they also are fathered on the *English*, but how true I know not. An other place I marked, designed perhaps for a Rampart, but imployed at this time only by windmils. It is a goodly mount of earth, high and capacious, situate close unto the gate called St. *Martins*; the most defensible part, if wel manned, of all *Paris*. Thus is the strength of this Town (as you see) but small; and if *Henry* IV. lay so long before it with his Army, it was not because he could not take it, but because he would not. He was loath (as *Biron* advised him) to receive the bird naked, which he expected with all its feathers; and this answer he gave the Lord *Willougbie*. who undertook to force an entry into it.

For

For the *ſtreets*, they are many of them of a lawfull and competent breadth, well pitched under the foot with fair and large peble. This paving of it was the work of *Philip Auguſtus*, *anno* 1223. or thereabouts; before which time it could not but be miſerably dirty, if not unpaſſable. As it now is, the leaſt rain maketh it very ſlippery and troubleſome; and as little a continuance of warme weather, ſtinking and poiſonous. But whether this noiſomeneſſe proceed from the nature of the ground, or the ſluttiſhneſſe of the people in their houſes, or the neglect of the Magiſtrates in not providing a ſufficiency of Scavengers, or all, I am not to determine. This I am confident of, that the naſtieſt lane in *London*, is Frankincenſe and Juniper, to the ſweeteſt ſtreet in this City. The antient by-word was (and there is good reaſon for it) *Il deſtaint comme la fange de Paris*: had I the power of making proverbs, I would only change *il deſtaint* into *il puit*, and make the by-word ten times more Orthodox. I have ſpoken ſomewhat already of the Fortifications of this Town, but they are but trifles: the only venome of the ſtreet, is a ſtrength unto it more powerfull then the ditches or the bulwark of St. *Martins*. *Morriſon* in his *Itinerarie* relateth how the Citizens of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, were repairing the wals of their Town for fear of the *Turkes*; but with all he addeth, that if the ſtink of the ſtreets kept him not thence, there was no aſſurance to be looked for of the wals. I know now not how true it is of that City, I am ſure it may be juſtly verified of this. It was therefore not unjudiciouſly ſaid of an *Engliſh* Gentleman, that he thought *Paris* was the ſtrongeſt Town in Chriſtendome; for he took (ſtrong) in that ſenſe as we do in *England*, when we ſay ſuch a man hath a *ſtrong-breath*. Theſe things conſidered, it could not but be an infinite happineſſe granted by nature to our *Henry* V. that he never ſtopped his noſe at any ſtink, as our Chronicles report of him. Otherwiſe, in my conſcience, he had never been able to keep his Court there. But that which moſt amazed me, is, that in ſuch a perpetuated conſtancy of ſtinks, there ſhould yet be found ſo large and admirable a variety. A variety ſo ſpeciall and diſtinct, that any Chymicall noſe (I dare lay my life on it)

two or three perambulations, would hunt out blindfold, each ſeverall ſtreet by the ſmell, as perfectly as another by his eye. A Town of a ſtrange compoſition, one can hardly live in it in the Summer without poiſning, in the Winter without miring.

For the *buildings*, they are I confeſſe very handſomely and uniformely ſet out to the ſtreet-ward; not unſeemly in themſelves, and very ſutable one with another. High and perpendicular, with windowes reaching from the top almoſt to the bottom. The houſes of the new mould in *London*, are juſt after their faſhion: wherein the care and deſigne of our late Soveraign King *James* is highly to be magnifyed. Time and his good beginnings well ſeconded, will make that City nothing inferiour for the beauty and excellency of her ſtructures, to the gallanteſt of *Europe*; inſomuch that he might truly have ſaid of his *London*, what *Auguſtus* did of his *Rome*, τὴν Ῥώμην γηΐνην παραλαβὼν, λιθίνην ἐμὴν καταλείπω, *Urbem quem lateritiam inveni marmoream relinquo*, as *Dion* hath it. But as *London* now is, the houſes of it in the inſide, are both better contrived, and richlyer furniſhed by far, then thoſe of *Paris*; the inward beauty and ornaments moſt commonly following the eſtate of the builders, or the owners. Their houſes are diſtinguiſhed by ſignes as with us, and under every ſign there is printed in Capitall letters, what ſigne it is; neither is it more then need. The old ſhift of This is a Cock, and this is a Bull, was never more requiſite in the infancy of painting, then in this City. For ſo hideouſly and ſo without reſemblance to the thing ſignified, are moſt of theſe pencil-works: that I may without danger ſay of them as *Pſeudolus* in *Plautus* doth of the letter which was written from *Phœnicium* to his young maſter *Callidorus*, *An obſecro hercle, habent quoque gallinæ manus? nam has quidem gallina ſcripſit.* If a hen would not ſcrape better portraitures on a dunghill then they have hanged up before their doors, I would ſend to my Hoſteſs of *Toſtes* to be executed. And indeed generally, the Artificers of *Paris* are as ſlovenly in their trades, as in their houſes; yet you may finde nimble dancers, prety fidlers for a toy, and a Tayler that can trick you up after the beſt and neweſt faſhion. Their Cutlers make

ſuch

ſuch abominable and fearfull knives, as would grieve a mans heart to ſee them: and their Glovers, are worſe then they; you would imagine by their Gloves, that the hand for which they are made, were cut of by the wriſt: yet on the other ſide they are very perfect at tooth-picks, beard bruſhes, and (which I hold the moſt commendable art of them) at the cutting of a ſeal. Their Mercers are but one degree removed from a Pedler; ſuch as in *England* we call Chapmen, that is a Pedler with a ſhop. And for Goldſmiths there is little uſe of them, glaſſes being there moſt in requeſt, both becauſe neat, and becauſe cheap. I perſwade my ſelf that the two ſeverall ranks of ſhops in *Cheapſide*, can ſhew more plate, and more variety of Mercery wares, good and rich, then three parts of *Paris*. Merchants they have here, but not many, and they not very wealthy. The river ebbs not, and floweth not nigher then 75 miles or thereabouts, and the boats which thence ſerve the City, being no bigger then our Weſtern Barges. The principall means by which the people do ſubſiſt, are the Court of the King, moſt times held amongſt them; and the great reſort of *Advocates* and *Clients* to the chambers of *Parliament*. Without theſe two crutches the Town would get a vile halting, and perhaps be ſcarce able to ſtand. What the eſtate of ſome of their wealthyeſt Citizens may amount to, I cannot ſay, yet I dare conjecture it, not to be ſuperfluous. The Author of the book entituled *Les eſtat du monde*, reckoneth it for a great marvell that ſome of our *London* Merchants ſhould be worth 100000 crownes, we account that eſtate among us not to be ſo wonderfull, and may thence ſafely conclude, that they who make a prodigie of ſo little, are not worth ſo much themſelves.

If you believe their apparell, we may, perhaps, be perſwaded otherwiſe; that queſtionleſſe ſpeaketh no leſſe then millions, though like it is, that when they are in their beſt clothes, they are in the midle of their eſtates. But concerning the ridiculous bravery of the poor *Pariſian*, take along with you this ſtory: Upon our firſt coming into *Paris*, there came to viſit a *German Lord*, whom we met a ſhip-bord, a couple of *French Gallants*, his acquaintance; the one of them (for I did

did not much obſerve the other) had a ſuit of *Turkie grogram* doubled with Taffeta, cut with long ſlaſhes, or carbonado's, after the *French* faſhion, and belaied with bugle lace. Through the openings of his doublet appeared his ſhirt of the pureſt Holland, and wrought with curious needle-work; the points at his waſte and knees, all edged with a ſilver edging; his garters, roſes and hat-band, ſutable to his points; a beaver hat, and a pair of ſilk ſtockins; his cloke alſo of *Turkey grogram*, cut upon black Taffeta. This Lord (for who would have dared to gueſſe him other?) applyed himſelf to me, and perceiving my ignorance in the *French*, accoſted me in *Latine*, which he ſpake indifferently well. After ſome diſcourſe, he took notice of mine eyes, which were then ſore and ſea-ſick, and promiſed me, if I would call on him at his lodging the next morning, to give me a water, which ſuddenly would reſtore them to their ſtrength and vigor. I humbly thanked his Lordſhip for ſuch an ineffable and immerited favour, in the beſt complement and greateſt obeiſance I could deviſe. It was not for nought, thought I, that our *Engliſh* extoll ſo muth the humanity of this people; nay I began to accuſe the report of envy, as not having publiſhed the one half of their graces and affabilities. *Quantillum enim virtutum illarum acceperim!* And thus taking my leave of his Honor, I greedily expected the next morning. The morning come, and the hour of viſiting his Lordſhip almoſt at hand, I ſent a ſervant to fetch a Barber to come trim me and make me neat, as not knowing what occaſion I might have, of ſeeing his Lady or his daughters. Upon the return of the meſſenger, preſently followeth his Altitude, and bidding me ſit down in his chair, he disburdened one of his pockets (*Quis hoc credat, niſi ſit pro teſte vetuſtas?*) of a caſe of inſtruments, and the other of a bundle of linnen. Thus accommodated, he falleth to work about me, to the earning of a *quardeſou*. In my life I had never more adoe to hold in my laughter. And certainly, had not an anger or vexation at my own folly, in caſting away ſo much humble rhetorick the night before upon him, ſomewhat troubled me; I ſhould either have laught

laught him out of his fine ſuit, or have broke my heart in the reſtraint.

Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures?

If a Barber may be thus taken in ſuſpicion for a Lord, no doubt but a Mercer may be accuſed for a Marqueſſe.

CHAP. V.

Paris *divided into four parts. Of the* Fauxbourgs *in generall. Of the Peſt-houſe. The* Fauxbourg *and* Abby *of St.* Germain. *The Queen Mothers houſe there. Her purpoſe never to reſide in it. The Provoſt of Merchants, and his authority. The Armes of the Town. The Town-houſe. The* Grand Chaſtelet. *The* Arcenall. *The place Royall,* &c. *The Vicounty of* Paris. *And the Provoſts ſeven daughters.*

THey which write of *Luſitania* divide it into three parts, *viz. Ulteriorem*, lying beyond *Duerus*, North; *Citeriorem*, lying from *Tagus*, South; and *Interamnem*, ſituate betwixt both the rivers. *Paris* is ſeated juſt as that Province, and may in a manner admit of the ſame diviſion; for the River of *Seine*, hath there ſo diſperſed it ſelf, that it hath divided this *French Metropolis* into three parts alſo, *viz. Citeriorem*, lying on this ſide the river, which they call *La Ville*, the Town; *Ulteriorem*, lying beyond the further branch of it, which they call *L'Univerſitiè*; and *Interammem*, ſituate between both the ſtreams in a little Iſland; which they call *La Citè*. To theſe add the Suburbs, or (as

they call them) the *Fauxbourgs*, and you have in all four parts of *Paris*.

These *Fauxbourgs* are not incorporated unto the Town, or joyned together with it, as the Suburbs of *London* are unto that City. They stand severed from it a pretty distance, and appear to be what indeed they are, a distinct body from it; For the most part the houses in them are old and ruinous: yet the *Fauxbourg* of St. *Iacques* is in a prety good fashion and the least unsightly of them all, except St. *Germains*. The *Fauxbourg* also of St. *Marcell* hath somewhat to commend it, which is that the great Pest-house built by *Henry* IV. is within the Precincts of it: a house built quadrangular wise, very large and capacious; and seemeth to such as stand afar off it (for it is not safe venturing nigh it or within) to be more like the Palace of a King, then the Kings Palace it self. But the principall of all the Suburbs is that of St. *Germains*, a place lately repaired, full of divers stately houses, and in bigneſſe little inferior unto *Oxford*. It took name from the Abbey of S^t. *Germain*, seated within it, built by *Childebert* the son of *Clouis*, *anno* 1542. in the honor of St. *Vincent*. Afterwards it got the name of St. *German* a Bishop of *Paris*, whose body was there buried, and at whose instigation it had formerly been founded. The number of the Monks was enlarged to the number of 120 by *Charles the balde*, (he began his reign *anno* 841) and so they continue till this day. The present Abbot is *Henry* of *Burbon* Bishop of *Metz*, base son unto *Henry* IV. He is by his place Lord of all this goodly Suburb; hath power of levying Taxes upon his tenants: and to him accrew all the profits of the great Fair holden here every *February*.

The principall house in it is that of the Queen Mother, not yet fully built. The Gallery of it, which possesseth all the right side of the square, is perfectly finished, and said to be a most royall and majesticall peece. The further part also, opposite to the gate, is finished so far forth as concerneth the outside and strength of it; the ornamentall parts and trappings of it being yet not added. When it is absolutely consummate, if it hold proportion with the other sides, both within and without, it will be a Palace for the elegancy and polite-

politeneſſe of the Fabrick, not followed in *Europe*. A Palace anſwerable to the greatneſſe of her mind that built it; yet it is by divers conjectured that her purpoſe is never to reſide there: for which cauſe the building goeth but ſlowly forward. For when upon the death of her great Privado, the Marqueſſe *D' Ancre*, ſhe was removed to *Blois*: thoſe of the oppoſite faction in the Court got ſo ſtrongly into the good opinion of the King, that not without great ſtruglings, by thoſe of her party, and the hazard of two civill wars, ſhe obtained her former neerneſſe to his Majeſty. She may ſee by this what to truſt to, ſhould her abſence leave the Kings mind any way prepared for new impreſſions. Likely therefore it is, that ſhe will rather chooſe to leave her fine houſe unhabited further then on occaſions for a Banquet, then give the leaſt opportunity to ſtagger her greatneſſe. This houſe is called *Luxembourg Palace*, as being built in place of an old houſe belonging to the Duke of that Province. The ſecond houſe of note in this Suburb is that of the Prince of *Conde*, to whom it was given by the Queen Mother, in the firſt year of her Regency.

The Town of *Paris*, is that part of it, which lyeth on this ſide of the hithermoſt branch of the *Seine* towards *Picardie*. What was ſpoken before in the generall hath its reference to this particular; whether it concern the ſweetneſſe of the ſtreets, the manner of the building, the furniture of the artificer, or the like. It containeth in it 13 Pariſh Churches, *viz.* St. *German de l' Auxerre*, 2 St. *Euſtace*, 3 *Les Saints Innocents*, 4 St. *Savueur*, 4 St. *Nicolas des champs*. 6 *Le Sepulcre*. 7 St. *Iacques de la bouchierie*, 8 St. *Joſſe*, 9 St. *Mercy*, 10 St. *Jean*, 11 St. *Gervaſe*, and St. *Protaſſe*, 12 St. *Paul*, and 13 St. *Jean le ronde*. It alſo hath in it 7 Gates, *ſc.* 1 St. *Anthony* upon the ſide of the river neer unto the *Arcenall*. 2 *Porte du Temple*. 3 St. *Martin*. 4 St. *Denis*. 5 *Mont martre*. 6 St. *Honorè*, and 7 *Porte Neufue*, ſo called becauſe it was built ſince the others, which joyneth hard upon the *Tnilleries*, the Garden of the *Louure*.

The principall Governour of *Paris*, as alſo of the whole Iſle of *France*, is the Duke of *Monbazon*, who hath held this office ever ſince the year 1619. when it was ſurrendred by

Luines; but he little medleth with the City. The particular Governours of it are the two Provosts, the one called *Le Provoſt du Paris*, the other *Le Provoſt des Merchands*. The *Provoſt* of *Paris* determineth of all cauſes between Citizen and Citizen, whether they be criminall or civill. The office is for term of life; the place of jndgement, the *Grand Chaſtelet*. The preſent *Provoſt* is called Mr. *Seguier*, and is by birth of the Nobility; as all which are honoured with this office muſt be. He hath as his aſſiſtants three *Lieutenants*; the *Lieutenant* criminall, which judgeth in matters of life and death; the *Lieutenant* civill, which decideth cauſes of debt or treſpaſſe between party and party; and the *Lieutenant* particular, who ſupplyeth their ſeverall places in their abſence. There are alſo neceſſarily required to this Court the *Procureur*, and the *Advocate*, or the Kings *Sollicitour*, and *Attorney*, 12 *Counſellours*, and of under-officers more then enough. This Office is ſaid to have been erected in the time of *Lewis* the ſon of *Charles* the great. In matters criminall there is appeal admitted from hence to the *Tournelle*. In matters civill, if the ſum exceed the value of 250 Livres, to the *great Chamber*, or *Le grande Chambre* in the Court of Parliament. The *Provoſt* of the *Merchants*, and his authority was firſt inſtituted by *Philip Auguſtus*, who began his reign *anno* 1190. His office is to conſerve the liberties and indulgences, granted to the Merchants and Artificers of the City: to have an eye over the ſales of Wine, Corn, Wood, Cole, *&c.* and to impoſe taxes on them; to keep the keyes of the Gates, to give watchword in time of war; to grant Paſt-ports to ſuch as are willing to leave the Town, and the like. There are alſo four other Officers joyned unto him, *Eſchevins* they call them, who alſo carry a great ſway in the City. There are moreover Aſſiſtants to them in their proceedings, the Kings *Sollicitour* (or *Procureur*) and 24 *Counſellours*. To compare this Corporation with that of *London*, the *Provoſt* is as the *Maior*, the *Eſchevins* as the *Sheriffs*, the 24 *Counſellours* as the *Aldermen*, and the *Procureur* as the *Recorder*. I omit the under-officers, whereof there is no ſcarcity. The place of their meetings is called *L' hoſtel de ville*, or the *Guilde-hall* The preſent *Provoſt*, Mr. *de Grieux*, his habit, as alſo that of the *Eſchevins*, and *Counſellours*,

ſellours, half red, half skie coloured, the City livery with a hood of the ſame.

This *Provoſt* is as much above the other in power, as men which are loved, commonly are above thoſe which are feared. This *Provoſt* the people willingly, yea ſometimes factiouſly obey, as the conſervator of their liberties; the other they only dread as the Judge of their lives, and the tyrants over their Eſtates. To ſhew the power of this *Provoſt*, both for and with the people againſt their Princes, you may pleaſe to take notice of two inſtances. For the people againſt *Philip de Valois*, *anno* 1349. when the ſaid King deſiring an Impoſt of one Livre in five Crowns, upon all wares ſold in *Paris*, for the better managing of his Wars againſt the *Engliſh*, could obtain it but for one year only; and that not without ſpeciall letters reverſall, that it ſhould no way incommodate their priviledges. With the people, *anno* 1357. when King *John* was Priſoner in *England*, and *Charles* the *Daulphin*, afterwards the fift of that name, laboured his ranſome amongſt the *Pariſians*. For then *Stephen Marcell* the *Provoſt*, attended by the Vulgar Citizens, not only brake open the *Daulphins* Chamber, but ſlew *John de Conflans* and *Robert* of *Clermount*, two Marſchals of *France*, before his face Nay, to add yet further inſolencies to this, he took his party-coloured hood off his head, putting it on the *Daulphins*, and all that day wore the *Daulphins* hat, being a brown black; *Pour ſignal de ſa dictature*, as the token of his *Dictatorſhip*. And which is more then all this, he ſent the *Daulphin* cloth to make him a Gowne and an Hood of the City livery; and compelled him to avow the maſſacre of his ſervants above named, as done by his commandement: Horrible inſolencies! *Quam miſerum eſt tum hæc impune facere potuiſſe?* as *Tully* of *Marcus Antonius*.

The Armes of this Town, as alſo of the Corporation of the *Provoſt* and *Eſchevins*, are *Gules*, a *Ship Argent*; a *Chief powdred with flower de Lyces*, *Or*. The ſeat or place of their aſſembly, is called (as we ſaid) *L'hoſtell de ville*, or the *Guild-hall*. It was built or rather finiſhed by *Francis* the firſt, *anno* 1533. and ſince beautifyed and repaired by *Francis Miron*, once *Provoſt des Merchands*, and afterwards Privie Counſeller to the

King. It ſtandeth on one ſide of the *Greve*, which is the publick place of execution, and is built quadrangular wiſe, all of free and poliſhed ſtone, evenly and orderly laid together. You aſcend by 30 or 40 ſteps, fair and large, before you come into the *Quadrate*; and thence by ſeverall ſtaires into the ſeverall rooms and Chambers of it, which are very neatly contrived and richly furniſhed. The *grand Chaſtelet* is ſaid to have been built by *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, at ſuch time as he was Governor of *Gaul*. It was afterwards new built by *Philip Auguſtus*: and ſince repaired by *Lewis* XII. in which time of reparation, the *Provſt* of *Paris* kept his Courts in the Palace of the *Louure*. To ſight it is not very gratious, what it may be within I know not. Certain I am, that it looketh far more like a priſon (for which uſe it alſo ſerveth) then a Town-hall or ſeat of judgment.

In this part of *Paris* called *La ville*, or the Town, is the Kings *Arcenal* or *Magazin* of War; it carryeth not any great face of majeſty on the out-ſide, neither indeed is it neceſſary; ſuch places are moſt beautifull without, when they are moſt terrible within. It was begun by *Henry* II. finiſhed by *Charles* the ninth, and augmented by Mr. *De Rhoſny*, great Maſter of the Artillery. It is ſaid to contain 100 field-pieces and their carriages; as alſo Armor ſufficient for 10000 horſe, and 50000 foot. In this part alſo of *Paris* is that excellent pile of building called the *Place Royall*, built partly at the charges, and partly at the encouragement of *Henry* IV. It is built in forme of a quadrangle, every ſide of the ſquare being in length 72 fathomes; the materials Brick of divers colours, which makes it very pleaſing, though leſſe durable. It is cloyſtered round, juſt after the faſhion of the *Royall Exchange* in *London*, the walks being paved under foot. The houſes of it are very fair and large, every one having its Garden and other out-lets. In all they are 36, nine of a ſide, and ſeem to be ſufficient capable of a great retinue; the Ambaſſadour for the eſtate of *Venice*, lying in one of them. It is ſituate in that place, whereas formerly the ſolemn Tiltings were performed, a place famous and fatall for the death of *Henry* II. who was here ſlain with the ſplinters of a Lance,

as

as he was running with the Earl of *Montgomery*, a *Scotish-man*; a sad and heavie accident.

To conclude this discourse of the *Ville* or Town of *Paris*, I must a little wander out of it; because the power and command of the *Provost* saith it must be so: for his authoris is not confined within the Town. He hath seven daughters on which he may exercise it; *Les sept filles de la Prevoste de Paris*, as the *French* call them. These seven daughters are seven Bailiwicks, comprehended within the *Vicountie* of *Paris*, *viz.* 1 *Poissy*. 2 St. *German en lay*. 3 *Tornon* 4 *Torcie en Brie*. 5 *Corbeil*. 6 *Montlierie*. And 7 *Gonnesse en France*. Over these his jurisdiction is extended, though not as *Provost* of *Paris*. Here he commandeth and giveth judgement as *Lieutenant civill* to the Duke of *Monbazon*, or the supream Governour of *Paris*, and the *Isle* of *France*, for the time being. Yet this *Lieutenant* being an Office perpetually annexed to the *Provostship*, is the occasion that the Bailiwicks above named are called *Les sept filles de la Prevostè*.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

The Universsity of Paris, *and Founders of it. Of the Colledges in general. Marriage when permitted to the Rectors of them. The small maintenance allowed to Scholars in the Universities of* France. *The great Colledge at* Tholoza. *Of the Colledge of the* Sorbonne *in particular; That and the House of Parliament, the chief Bulwarks of the* French *liberty. Of the Polity and Government of the Universsity. The Rector and his precedency; The disordered life of the Scholars there being. An Apologie for* Oxford *and* Cambridge. *The priviledges of the Scholars, their degrees, &c.*

THat part of *Paris* which lyeth beyond the furthermost branch of the *Seine*, is called the Universsity. It is little inferiour to the Town for bigness, and lesse superior to it in sweetness or opulency. Whatsoever hath been said of the whole in general, was intended to this part also, as well as the others: all the learning in it, being not able to free it from those inconveniences, wherewith it is distressed. It containeth in it only six parish Churches: the paucity whereof is supplyed by the multitude of religious houses, which are within it. These six Churches are called by the names of St. *Nicholas du Chardonuere*, 2. St. *Estienne*, at this time in repairing. 3. St. *Severin*. 4. St. *Bennoist*. 5. St. *Andre*. And 6. St. *Cosome*. It hath also eight Gates, *viz.* 1. *Porte de Neste*, by the water side over against the *Louure*. 2. *Porte de Buçi*. 3. St. *Germain*. 4. St. *Michell*. 5. St. *Jacques*. 6. St. *Marcell*. 7. St. *Victor*, and 8. *Porte de la Tornelle*. It was not accounted as a distinct member of *Paris*, or as the third part of it, untill the year 1304.

1304. at what time the Scholars having lived formerly disperſed about the City, began to ſettle themſelves together in this place: and ſo to become a peculiar Corporation.

The Univerſity was founded by *Charles* the great, *anno* 791. at the perſwaſion of *Alcuine* an *Oxford* man, and the Scholar of venerable *Bede*: who brought with him three of his con-diſciples to be the firſt readers there: their names were *Rabbanus Maurus*, *John Erigena*, ſurnamed *Scotus*; *& Claudus*, who was alſo called *Clement*. To theſe four doth the Univerſity of *Paris* owe its originall and firſt rudiments: neither was this the firſt time, that *England* had been the Schoolmiſtreſs unto *France*; we lent them not only their firſt Doctors in Divinity and Philoſophy; but from us alſo did they receive the myſteries of their Religion, when they were Heathens. *Diſciplina in Britannia reperta*, (ſaith *Julius Cæſar Com.* 6.) *atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur.* An authority not to be queſtioned by any, but by a *Cæſar*. Learning thus new born at *Paris*, continued not long in any full vigour. For almoſt 300 years it was fallen into a deadly trance: and not here only, but alſo through the greateſt part of *Europe*: *anno* 1160. or thereabouts *Peter Lombard*, Biſhop of *Paris*, the firſt author of Scholaſtical Divinity; and by his followers called the Maſter of the Sentences; revived it here in this Town by the favour and encouragement of *Lewis* 7. In his own houſe were the Lectures firſt read: and after as the numbers of Students did encreaſe, in ſundry other parts of the Town; Colledges they had none till the year 1304. The Scholars till then ſojourning in the houſes of the Citizens, accordingly as they could bargain for their entertainment.

But *anno* 1304. *Joane*, Queen of *Navarre*, wife to *Philip* the fair, built that Colledge, which then and ever ſince hath been called the Colledge of *Navarre*: and is at this day the faireſt and largeſt of all the reſt. *Non ibi conſtituunt exempla ubi cœperunt, ſed in tenuem accepta tramitem, latiſſime evagandi viam ſibi faciunt:* as *Velleius*. This good example ended not in it ſelf: but incited divers others of the *French* Kings, and people, to the erecting of convenient places of ſtudy. So that

in proceſs of time, *Paris* became enriched with 52 Colledges. So many it ſtill hath, though the odde forty are little ſerviceable unto learning, for in twelve only of them is there any publick reading, either in Divinity or Philoſophy. Thoſe twelve are the Colledges of *Harcourte*. 2. *Caillvi*, or the *Petit Sorbonne*. 3. *Liſſeux*, or *Lexovium*. 4 *Boncourte*. 5. *Montague*. 6. *Le Marche*. 7. *Navarre*. 8. *De la Cardinal de Moyne*. 9. *Le Pleſſis*. 10. *De Beavais*. 11. *La Sorbonne*. 12. *De Clermont*, or the Colledge of the Jeſuites: there are alſo publique readings in the houſes of the four orders of Fryers Mendicants, *viz.* the *Carmelites*, the *Auguſtins*, the *Franciſcans*, or *Cordeliers*, and the *Dominicans*. The other Colledges are deſtinated to other uſes. That of *Arras* is converted to an houſe of *Engliſh* fugitives; and there is another of them hard by the Gate of St. *Jacques*, employed for the reception of the *Iriſh*. In others of them there is lodging allotted out to Students, who for their inſtructions have reſort to ſome of the 12 Colledges above mentioned.

In each of theſe Colledges there is a Rector: moſt of whoſe places yeeld to them but ſmall profit. The greateſt commodity which accreweth to them is raiſed from chamber Rents: their preferments being much of a nature with that of a Principal of an Hall in *Oxford*; or that of a Treaſurer in an Inne of Chancery in *London*. At the firſt erection of their Colledges, they were all prohibited marriage, though I ſee little reaſon for it. There can hardly come any inconvenience or dammage by it, unto the ſcholars under their charge, by the aſſuming of leaſes into their own hands: for I think few of them have any to be ſo imbezled. *Anno* 1520. or thereabouts it was permitted unto ſuch of them as were Doctors in Phyſick, that they might marry: the Cardinall of *Toute Ville*, Legat in *France*, giving unto them that indulgence. Afterwards in the year 1534. the Doctors of the Lawes petitioned the Univerſity for the like priviledge: which in fine was granted to them, and confirmed by the Court of Parliament. The Doctors of Divinity are the only Academicals now barred from it: and that not as Rectors, but as Prieſts. Theſe Colledges for their buildings

buildings are very inelegant, and generally little beholding to the curiosity of the artificer. So confused and so proportioned in respect of our Colledges in *England*, as *Exeter* in *Oxford* was some 12. years since, in comparison of the rest: or as the two Temples in *London* now are, in reference to *Lincolns-Inne*. The revenues of them are suitable to the Fabricks, as mean and curtailed. I could not learn of any Colledge, that hath greater allowances then that of *Sorbonne*: and how small a trifle that is, we shall tell you presently. But this is not the poverty of the University of *Paris* only: all *France* is troubled with the same want, the same want of encouragement in learning: neither are the Academies of *Germanie* in any happier state, which occasioned *Erasmus* that great light of his times, having been in *England* and seen *Cambridge*, to write thus to one of his *Dutch* acquaintance, *Unum Collegium Cantabrigiense* (*confidenter dicam*) *superat vel decem nostra*. It holdeth good in the neatness and graces of the buildings, in which sense he spake it: but it had been more undeniable had he intended it of the revenues. Yet I was given to understand, that at *Tholoze* there was amongst 20 Colledges, one of an especiall quality: and so indeed it is, if rightly considered. There are said to be in it 20 Students places, (or fellowships as we call them). The Students at their entrance are to lay down *in depositо* 6000. Florens, or Livres; paid unto him after six years, by his successor: *Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius*. A pretty market.

The Colledge of *Sorbonne*, which is indeed the glory of this University, was built by one *Robert de Sorbonne* of the chamber of *Lewis* the 9. of whom he was very well beloved. It consisteth meerly of Doctors of Divinity: neither can any of another profession, nor any of the same profession not so graduated, be admitted into it. At this time their number is about 70; their allowance, a pint of wine, (their pinte is but a thought lesse then our quart) and a certain quantity of bread daily. Meat they have none allowed them, unless they pay for it: but the pay is not much: for five Sols (which amounteth to six pence *English*) a day, they may challenge a competency of flesh or fish, to be served to

them at their chambers. These Doctors have the sole power and authority of conferring degrees in Divinity: the Rector and other officers of the University, having nothing to do in it. To them alone belongeth the examination of the students in the faculty, the approbation, and the bestowing of the honour: and to their Lectures do all such assiduously repair, as are that way minded. All of them in their turnes discharge this office of reading, and that by fixes in a day: three of them making good the Pulpit in the forenoon; and as many in the afternoon. These Doctors are accounted, together with the Parliament of *Paris*, the principal pillars of the *French* Liberty: whereof indeed they are exceeding jealous, as well in matters Ecclesiastical as Civil. When *Gerson* Chancellor of *Paris* (he died *Anno* 1429.) had published a book in approbation of the Councell of *Constance*; where it was enacted that the authority of the Councell was greater then that of the Pope: the *Sorbone* Doctors declared that also to be their Doctrine. Afterwards when *Lewis* the 11. to gratifie Pope *Pius* the 2. purposed to abolish the force of the pragmatick sanction; the *Sorbonnists* in behalf of the Church *Gallican*, and the University of *Paris*; *Magnis obsistebant animis*, (saith *Sleidan* in his Commentaries) *& a Papa provocabant ad Concilium.* The Councell unto which they appealed was that of *Basil*; where that sanction was made: so that by this appeal, they verified their former *Thesis*; that the Councell was above the Pope. And not long since, *anno viz* 1613. casually meeting with a book written by *Becanus*, entituled, *Controversia Anglicana de potestate regis & papæ:* they called an assembly, and condemned it. For though the main of it, was against the power and supremacy of the Kings of *England*: yet did it reflect also on the authority of the Pope over other Christian Kings by the bie, which occasioned the Sentence. So jealous are they of the least circumstances, in which the immunity of their nation may be endangered.

As for the Government of the University, it hath for its chief directour, a Rector: with a Chancellor, four Procurators or Proctors, and as many others, whom they call *Les Intrantes*, to assist him; besides the Regents. Of these

the

the Regents are ſuch Maſters of the Arts, who are by the conſent of the reſt, ſelected to read the publick Lectures of Logick and Philoſophy. Their name they derive *a regendo, eo quod in artibus rexerint.* Theſe are divided into four Nations, *viz.* 1 The *Norman.* 2 The *Picarde.* 3. The *German.* And 4 The *French.* Under the two firſt are comprehended the ſtudents of thoſe ſeveral Provinces: under the third, the Students of all forein nations, which repair hither for the attainment of knowledge. It was heretofore called *natio Anglica*: but the *Engliſh* being thought unworthy of the honour, becauſe of their ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*; the name and credit of it was given to the *Germans.* That of the *French* is again ſubdivided into two parts: that which is immediately within the Dioceſe of *Paris*; and that which containeth the reſt of *Gallia.* Theſe four Nations (for notwithſtanding the ſubdiviſion above mentioned, the *French* is reckoned but as one) chooſe yearly four Proctors or Procurators; ſo called, *quia negotia nationis ſuæ procurant.* They chooſe four other officers, whom they call *les Intrantes*: in whoſe power there remaineth the Delegated authority of their ſeveral Nations. And here it is to be obſerved, that in the *French* Nation, the Procurator, and Intrant, is one year of the Dioceſe of *Paris*; and the following year of the reſt of *France*: the reaſon why that Nation is ſubdivided. Theſe four *Intrantes* thus named, have amongſt them the election of the Rector: who is their ſupreme Migiſtrate.

The preſent Rector is named Mr. *Tarrienus*, of the Colledge of *Harcourte*: a Maſter of the Arts, for a Doctor is not capable of the Office. The honour laſteth only three moneths; which time expired, the *Intrantes* proceed to a new election: though oftentimes it hapneth that the ſame man hath the leaſe renued. Within the confines of the Univerſity, he taketh place next after the Princes of the bloud: and at the publique exerciſes of learning before the Cardinals, otherwiſe he giveth them the precedency. But to Biſhops or Archbiſhops he will not grant it upon any occaſion. It was not two moneths before my being there, that there hapned a ſhrewd controverſie about it. For their King had then

ſummoned an aſſembly of 25. Biſhops of the Provinces adjoyning, to conſult about ſome Church affairs; and they had choſen the Colledge of *Sorbonne* to be their Senate-houſe: when the firſt day of their ſitting came, a Doctor of the houſe being appointed to preach before them: began his oration with *Reverendiſſime Rector, & vos ampliſſimi præſules.* Here the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, a man of an high ſpirit, interrupted him and commanded him to invert his ſtile. He obeyed, and preſently the Rector riſeth up with *Impono tibi ſilentium*: which is an injunction within the compaſſe of his power. Upon this the Preacher being tongue-tied, the controverſie grew hot between the Biſhops and the Rector, both parties very eagerly pleading their own priority. All the morning being almoſt ſpent in this altercation, a Cardinal wiſer then the reſt, deſired that the queſtion might for that time be layed aſide: and that the Rector would be pleaſed to permit the Doctor to deliver his Sermon, beginning it without any præludium at all. To which requeſt the Rector yeelded, and ſo the contention at that time was ended.

But *ſalus academiæ non vertitur in iſtis.* It were more for the honour and profit of the Univerſity, if the Rector would leave off to be ſo mindefull of his place, and look a little to his office. For certainly never the eye and utmoſt diligence of a Magiſtrate was wanting more, and yet more neceſſary, then in this place. *Penelopes* ſuitors never behaved themſelves ſo inſolently in the houſe of *Ulyſſes*, as the *Academicks* here do in the houſes and ſtreets of *Paris*.

Nos numeri ſumus, & fruges conſumere nati,
Sponſi Penelopes, nebolones Alcinoiq;——

not ſo becoming the mouth of any as of thoſe. When you hear of their behaviour, you would think you were in *Turkie*: and that theſe men were the *Janizaries*. For an Angel given amongſt them to drink, they will arreſt whom you ſhall appoint them: double the money, and they ſhall break open his houſe, and raviſh him into the Gaole. I have not heard that they can be hired to a murder: though nothing be

be more common amongſt them then killing, except it be ſtealing. Witneſs thoſe many carkaſſes which are found dead in the morning, whom a deſire to ſecure themſelves and make reſiſtance to their pillages; hath only made earth again. Nay, which is moſt horrible, they have regulated their villanous practiſes into a Common-wealth: and have their captains and other officers, who command them in their night-walks; and diſpoſe of their purchaſes. To be a *Gipſie* and a Scholar of *Paris*, are almoſt *Synonyma*. One of their Captains had in one week (for no longer would the gallowes let him enjoy his honour) ſtolne no fewer then 80 cloaks. *Num fuit Auto'ychi tam piceata manus?* For theſe theſts, being apprehended, he was adjudged to the wheel: but becauſe the Judges were informed that during the time of his reign, he had kept the hands of himſelf and his company unpolluted with bloud; he had the favour to be hanged. In a word, this ungoverned rable, (whom to call ſcholars were to profane that title) omit no outrages or turbulent miſdemeanors, which poſſibly can be, or were ever known to be committed in place; which conſiſteth meerly of priviledge, and nothing of ſtatute.

I would heartily wiſh that thoſe who are ſo ill conceited of their own two Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and accuſe them of diſſoluteneſs in their behaviour; would either ſpend ſome time in the Schools beyond ſeas: or enquire what newes abroad, of thoſe which have ſeen them. Then would they doubtleſs ſee their own errors, and correct them. Then would they admire the regularity and civility of thoſe places, which before they condemned of debauchedneſſe. Then would they eſteem thoſe places as the ſeminary of modeſty and vertue, which they now account as the nurſeries only of an impudent rudeneſs. Such an opinion I am ſure ſome of the *Ariſtarchi* of theſe daies, have lodged in their breaſts, concerning the miſgovernment of our *Athens*. Perhaps a kinſman of theirs hath played the unthrift, equally of his time and money: hence their malice to it, and their invectives againſt it. Thus of old,

——*Pallas*

——————*Pallas exurere classem*
Argivam, atq; ipsos potuit submergere ponto
Unius ob culpam & furias Aiacis Oïlei.

An injustice more unpardonable, then the greatest sin of the Universities. But I wrong a good cause with an unnecessary patronage. Yet such is the peccant humour of some, that they know not how to expiate the follies of one but with the calumnie and dispraise of all. An unmanly weakness, and yet many possessed with it. I know it unpossible, that in a place of youth and liberty some should not give occasion of offence. The Ark wherein there were eight persons only, was not without one *Cham*, and of the twelve which Christ had chosen, one was a Devill. It were then above a miracle, if amongst so full a cohort of young souldiers, none should forsake the Ensign of his Generall: he notwithstanding that should give the imputation of cowardize to the whole army; cannot but be accounted malitious or peevish. But let all such as have evill will at *Sion*, live unregarded, and die unremembred, for want of some Scholar to write their Epitaph. Certainly a man not wedded to envie, and a spitefull vexation of spirit, upon a due examination of the civility of our *Lycæa*, and a comparison of them with those abroad, cannot but say, and that justly, *Non habent Academiæ Anglicanæ pares, nisi seipsas.*

The principal cause of the rudeness and disorders in *Paris* have been chiefly occasioned by the great priviledges wherewith the Kings of *France* intended the furtherance and security of learning. Having thus let them get the bridle in their own hands, no marvel if they grow sick with an uncontrolled licenciousnesse. Of these priviledges some are, that no Scholars goods can be seized upon, for the payment of his debts: that none of them should be liable to any taxes or impositions (a royall immunity to such as are acquainted with *France*:) that they might carry and recarry their utensils without the least molestation: that they should have the Provost of *Paris* to be the keeper and defender of their

their liberties, who is therefore ſtiled, *Le conſervateur des privileges royaux de l' Univerſite de Paris, &c.*

One greater priviledge they have yet then all theſe; which is their ſoon taking of degrees. Two years ſeeth them Novices in the Arts, and Maſters of them. So that enjoying by their degrees an abſolute freedome, before the follies and violences of youth are broke in them: they become ſo unruly and inſolent, as I have told you. Theſe degrees are conferred on them by the Chancellor, who ſeldome examineth further of them then his fees. Thoſe payed, he preſenteth them to the Rector, and giveth them their Letters Patents ſealed with the Univerſity Seal: which is the main part of the creation. He alſo ſetteth the Seal to the Authenticall Letters (for ſo they term them) of ſuch whom the *Sorbonniſts* have paſſed for Doctors. The preſent Chancellor is named *Petrus de Pierre vive*, Doctor of Divinity, and Canon of the Church of *Noſtre Dame:* (as alſo are all they which enjoy that office). He is choſen by the Biſhop of *Paris*, and taketh place of any under that dignity. But of this ill-managed Univerſity, enough, if not too much.

Chap. VII.

The City of Paris *seated in the place of old* Lutetia. *The Bridges which joyn it to the Town and University. King* Henry's *Statua.* Alexander's *injurious policy. The Church and revenues of* Nostre dame. *The Holy-water there. The original making and vertue of it. The Lamp before the* Altar. *The heathenishnesse of both customes.* Paris *best seen from the top of this Church: the great Bell there never rung but in time of Thunder: the baptizing of Bels, the grand Hospital and decency of it. The place* Daulphin. *The holy Chappel and Reliques there. What the Ancients thought of Reliques. The* Exchange. *The little Chastelet. A transition to the Parliament.*

THE Isle of *Paris*, commonly called *L' Isle du Palais*, seated between the University and the Town: is that part of the whole, which is called *La Cite*, the City, the epitome and abstract of all *France*. It is the sweetest and best ordered part of all *Paris*; and certainly if *Paris* may be thought to be the eye of the Realm; this Island may be equally judged to be the apple of that eye. It is by much the lesser part, and by as much the richer, by as much the decenter: and affordeth more variety of objects, then both the other. It containeth an equall number of Parish Churches, with the Town, and double the number of the University. For it hath in it 13 Churches parochial, *viz.* *la Magdalene.* 2 St. *Geniveue des ardents.* 3 St. *Christopher.* 4 St. *Pierre aux Boeufs.* 5 St. *Marine.* 6 St. *Lander.* 7 St. *Symphorian.* 8 St. *Denis de la charite.* 9 St. *Bartellemie.* 10 St. *Pierre*

des

des Assis. 11 St. *Croix.* 12 St. *Marciall.* 13 St. *German de vieux.* Seated it is in the middle of the *Seine*, and in that place where stood the old *Lutetia*: *Labienus cum quatuor legionibus* (saith *Jul. Cæsar* 7o *Comment.*) *Lutetiam proficiscitur: id est opidum Parisiorum positum in medio fluminis Sequanæ.* It is joyned to the main land, and the other parts of this *French* Metropolis, by six Bridges, two of wood, and four of stone: the stone Bridges, are 1 *Le petit pont*, a Bridge which certainly deserveth that name. 2 *Le pont de Nostre dame*, which is all covered with two goodly ranks of houses: and those adorned with portly and antick imagery. 3 *Le pont St. Michell*, so called, because it leadeth towards the Gate of St. *Michell*; hath also on each side a beautifull row of houses: all of the same fashion, so exactly, that but by their severall doors, you would scarce think them to be several houses. they are all new, as being built in the reign of this present King, whose armes is engraven over every door of them.

The fourth and largest Bridge, is that which standeth at the end of the Isle next the *Louure*; and covereth the waters now united again into one stream. It was begun to be built by *Katharine* of *Medices*, the Queen-Mother, *anno* 1578. her Son King *Henry* the 3. laying the first stone of it. The finishing of it was reserved unto *Henry* 4. who as soon as he had setled his affairs in this Town, presently set the workmen about it. In the end of it where it joyneth to the Town, there is a water-house which by artificiall engines forceth up waters from a fresh spring, rising from under the river: done at the charge of this King also. In the midst of it is the *Statua* of the said *Henry* 4. all in brasse, mounted on his barbed Steed, of the same mettle. They are both of them very unproportionable unto those which they represent: and would shew them big enough, were they placed on the top of *Nostre dame Church*. What minded King *Lewis* to make his father of so gigantive a stature, I cannot tell. *Alexander* at his return from his *Indian* expedition, scattered Armours, Swords, and Horsebits, far bigger then were serviceable: to make future ages admire his greatnesse. Yet some have hence collected, that the acts he performed are not so

great as they are reported: because he ſtrived to make them ſeem greater then they were. It may alſo chance to happen, that men in the times to come, comparing the atchievements of this King, with his brazen portraiture: may think that the hiſtorians have as much belied his valour as the ſtatuary hath his perſon.

A ponte ad pontifices. From the Bridge proceed we to the Church, the principal Church of *Paris*: being that *Noſtre dame*. A Church very uncertain of its firſt founder, though ſome report him to be St. *Savinian*: of whom I can meet with no more then his name. But who ever laid the firſt foundation, it much matters not: all the glory of the work being now caſt on *Philip Auguſtus*; who pitying the ruines of it, began to build it *anno* 1196. It is a very fair and awfull building, adorned with a very beautiful front, and two towers of eſpeciall height. It is in length 174 paces, and 69 in bredth: and is ſaid to be as many paces high: and that the two towers are 70 yards higher then the reſt of the Church. At your firſt entrance on the right hand, is the effigies of St. *Chriſtopher*, with our Saviour on his ſhoulders. A man, the Legend maketh him as well as the Maſon, of a gyantlike ſtature; though of the two, the Maſon's workmanſhip is the more admirable: his being all cut out of one main ſtone; that of the *Legendary* being patched up of many fabulous and ridiculous ſhreds: it hath in it four ranks of pillars 30 in rank; and 45 little Chappels, or Maſſe-cloſets, built between the outermoſt range of pillars, and the wals. This is the ſeat of the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, for ſuch now he is. It was a Biſhoprick only till the year 1622. When Pope *Gregory* the 15. at the requeſt of King *Lewis*, raiſed it to a Metropolitanſhip. But by this addition of honour, I think the preſent Incumbent hath got nothing, either in precedency or profit. He had before a neceſſary voice in the Court of Parliament, and took place immediately next after the Preſidents, he doth no more now. Before he had the priority of all the Biſhops, and now he is but the laſt of all the Archbiſhops: a preferment rather intellectuall then reall: and perhaps his ſucceſſors may account it a puniſhment; for beſides that the dignity is too un-

unweildy for the revenue, which is but 6000 Livres or 600 *l. Engliſh* yearly: like enough it is, that ſome may come into that Sea of *Cæſar*'s minde, who being in a ſmall village of the *Alps*, thus delivered his ambition to his followers, *Mallem eſſe hic primus, quam Romæ ſecundus.* The preſent poſſeſſor of this Chair, is *Francis de Gondi*, by birth a *Florentine*: one, whom I have heard much famed for a Stateſman, but little for a Scholar. But had he nothing in him, this alone were ſufficient to make him famous to poſterity, that he was the firſt Archbiſhop, and the laſt Biſhop of the City of *Paris*. There is moreover in this Church a Dean, 7 Dignities, and 50 Canons. The Deans place is valued at 4000 Livres, the Dignities at 3000, and the Canons at 2000; no great intrados: and yet unproportionable to the Archbiſhoprick.

At *Dieppe* (as I have ſaid) I obſerved the firſt Idolatry of the Papiſts: here I noted their firſt ſuperſtitions; which were the needleſſe uſe of Holy water, and the burning of Lamps before the Altar. The firſt is ſaid to have been the invention of Pope *Alexander* the 7. Biſhop of *Rome* in their account after *Peter*. I dare not give ſo much credit unto *Platina*, as to believe it of this antiquity; much leſs unto *Bellarmine*, who deriveth it from the Apoſtles themſelves. In this paradox, he hath enemies enough at home, his own Doctors being all for *Alexander*, yet they alſo are not in the right. The principall foundattion of their opinion, is an Epiſtle decretory of this *Alexander*: which in it ſelf carrieth its own confutation. The citations of Scripture, on which this Superſtition is thought to be grounded, are all taken out of the vulgar Latine tranſlation attributed to St. *Hierome*, whereas neither was there in the time of *Alexander* any publick Tranſlation of the Bible into Latine: neither was St. *Jerome* born within 300 years after him. Holy-water then is not of ſuch a ſtanding in the Church, as the Papiſts would perſwade us: and as yet I have not met with any, that can juſtly inform me at what time the Church received it; many corruptions they have among them whereof neither they nor we can tell the beginnings.

It conſiſteth of two ingredients, ſalt and water: each of

them severally consecrated, or rather exorcised; for so the words go: *Exorcizo te creatura salis.* And afterwards, *Exorcizo te creatura aquæ &c.* This done, the salt is sprinkled into the water in form of a crosse, the Priest in the mean time saying, *Commixtio salis & aquæ pariter fiat, in nomine patris, &c.* Being made, it is put into a cistern standing at the entrance of their Church: the people at their coming in, sometimes dipping their fingers into it, and making with it the sign of the crosse on their foreheads: and sometimes being sprinkled with it by one of the Priests, who in course bestow that blessing upon them. Pope *Alexander* who is said to be the father of it, gave it the gift of purifying and sanctifying all which it washed: *Ut cuncti illa aspersi purificentur, & sanctificentur,* saith his Decretall. The *Roman Rituall* published and confirmed by *Paulus* 5. maketh it very soveraign, *ad abigendos dæmones, & spiritus immundos. Bellarmine* maintaineth it a principall remedy, *ad remissionem peccatorum venialium,* and saith, that this was the perpetuall doctrine of the Church. *Augustin Steuchus* in his Commentaries on Numbers, leaveth out *venialia,* and pronounceth it to be necessary, *ut ad ejus aspersum delicta nostra deleantur,* so omnipotent is this Holy-water, that the bloud of our Saviour Christ may be in a manner judged unnecessary; but it is not only used in the Churches, the *Rituale Romanum,* of which I spake but now, alloweth any of the faithfull to carry it away with them in their vessels, *ad aspergendos ægros, domos, agros, vineas & alia: & ad habendam eam in cubiculis suis.* To which purposes you cannot but think this water to be exceeding serviceable.

The second superstition which this Church shewed me was the continuall burning of a Lamp before the Altar, a ceremony brought into the Churches (as it is likely) by Pope *Innocent* 3. *anno* 1215. at what time he ordained that there should a pix be bought to cover the bread, and that it should be therein reserved over the Altar. This honour one of late times hath communicated also unto the virgin *Mary:* whose image in this Church, hath a lanthorn *ex diametro* before it: and in that a candle perpetually burning. The name of the Donour, I could not learn, only I met on the

the skreen close by the Ladies image this inscription, *Une ave Maria, et un' pater noster, pour l' in qui cela donne*; which was intended on him that bestowed the Lanthorn. No question but Pope *Innocent*, when he ordered this Vestall fire to be kept amongst the Christians, thought he had done God good service in reviving his old Commandement given to *Moses* in *Exod.* 27. 20, 21 if so, the world cannot clear him of *Judaism*; therefore the best way were to say he learned it of the *Gentiles*: For we read that the *Athenians* had *Lychnum inextincti luminis*, before the Statua of their *Pallas*: that the *Persians* also had *Ignem pervigilem* in their Temples: and so also had the *Medians* and *Assyrians*. To omit the everlasting fire of *Vesta*, and come neer home, we meet with it also here in *Britain*; *In Britannia quoque* (saith a good Philosopher) *Minervæ numen colitur, in cujus templo perpetui ignes, &c.* Afterwards the flattery of the Court applying divine honours unto their Kings, this custome of having fire continually burning before them, began to grow in fashion among the *Romans*. *Herodian* amongst other the ensignes of imperiall majesty, is sure not to omit this, and therefore telleth us, that notwithstanding *Commodus* was fallen out with his sister *Lucilla*, he permitteth her her antient seat in the Theatre, καὶ τὸ πῦρ προπομπεύειν αὐτῆς, and that fire should still be carryed before her. The present *Romans* succeed the former, as in their possessions, so in their follies. For calling the Sacrament their *Lord God*, and the *Virgin* their *Lady*, they thought they should rob them of half their honour, should they not have their Lamps and fires also burning before them.

As are their lamps, so is their holy-water, meerly *Heathenish*: *Siquidem in omnibus sacris* (as we read in the fourth Book *Genialium dierum*) *sacerdos cum diis immolat, & rem divinam facit, corporis ablutione purgatur.* The author giveth a reason for it, and I would have no Papist, no not *Bellarmine* himself to give a better; *Aquæ enim aspersione labem tolli, & ecclesiam præsturi putant.* Neither did the Priest only use it himselfe, but he sprinkled also the people with it;

Spargere

Spargere rore levi, & ramo fœlicis olivæ,
Luſtravitque viros : ———

As *Virgil* in the *Æneid's.*

In which place two things are to be noted: Firſt, *Ramus olivæ*, now called *Aſperſorium*, or the ſprinkling rod, wherewith the water is ſprinkled on the by-ſtanders. And ſecondly, the term *luſtrare*, meerly the name of *Aqua luſtralis*, by which they call it. That the laicks alſo of the *Gentiles*, were clenſed of ſin by this water, is evident by that of *Homer*, where he maketh *Oreſtes* having killed his mother, and thereupon grown mad, at once reſtored to his wits and quiet thoughts, by waſhing in the water. Perhaps *Pilate* might allude to this cuſtome, when having condemned our Saviour, he waſhed his hands in the middeſt of the Congregation. Hereunto alſo *Ovid*:

O faciles nimium, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aqua.

Too facile ſouls, which think ſuch hainous matters
Can be aboliz'd by the river waters.

Indeed, in the word *fluminea*, the Poet was ſomewhat out, the waters only of the Sea ſerving for the expiation of any crime; the reaſon was, *Cum propter vim igneam magnopere purgationibus conſentanea putaretur*; and for this cauſe queſtionleſſe, do the Popiſh Prieſts uſe ſalt in the conſecration of their holy-water; that it might as nigh as was poſſible, reſemble the waters of the Sea in ſaltneſſe. So willing are they in all circumſtances to act the *Heathens*.

But I have kept you too long within the Church, it is now time to go up to the top, and ſurvey the outworks of it. It hath, as we have already ſaid, at the front two Towers of admirable beauty: they are both of an equal height, and are each of them 377 ſteps in the aſcent. From hence we could clearly ſee the whole circuite of *Paris*, and each ſeverall ſtreet of it; ſuch as we have already deſcribed, of an orbicular form and neatly

neatly compacted. From hence could we ſee the whole valley round about it, ſuch as I have alſo delineated already, though not in ſuch lively colours as it meriteth.

In one of theſe Towers there is a ring of Bels, in the other two only, but theſe for worth are equall to all the reſt; the bigger of the two is ſaid to be greater then the Bell of *Roven* ſo much talked of; as being 8 yards and a ſpan in compaſſe, and two yards and a half in depth; the bowl alſo of the clapper being one yard and a quarter round: of a great weight it needs muſt be, and therefore

Multorum manibus grande levatur onus,

there are no leſſe then four main ropes, beſides their ſeverall tale-ropes, to ring it. By reaſon of this trouble it is never rung, but in time of thunders, and thoſe no mean ones neither, leſſer bels will ſerve to diſperſe the leſſer tempeſts; this is uſed only in the horrider claps, and ſuch as threaten a diſſolution of nature. But how well, as well this as the ſmaller bels diſcharge that office, experience would tell us were we void of reaſon; yet ſo much do the people affiance themſelves to this conceit of the power of them, that they ſuppoſe it inherent to them continually, after the Biſhop hath baptized them; which is done in this manner. The bell being ſo hanged that it may be waſhed within and without, in comes the Biſhop in his Epiſcopall robes, attended by one of his Deacons, and ſitting by the Bell in his chaire ſaith with a loud voice the 50, 53, 56, 66, 69, 85, and 12 *Pſalmes*, or ſome of them: then doth he exorcize ſeverally the ſalt and the water, and having conjured theſe ingredients into an Holy-water, he waſheth with it the Bell, both on the inſide and the outſide, wiping it dry with a linnen cloth, he readeth the 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, and 150 *Pſalms*; he draweth a croſſe on it with his right thumb dipped in hallowed oyl, (*Chriſme* they call it) and then prayeth over it. His prayer finiſhed, he wipeth out that croſſe, and having ſaid over the 48 *Pſalm*, he draweth on it with the ſame oyl, ſeven other croſſes, ſaying, *Sanctificetur &*

conſecretur Domine campana iſta, in nomine, &c. After another prayer, the Biſhop taketh the Cenſour, and putting into it Myrrhe and Frankincenſe, ſetteth it on fire, and putteth it under the Bell that it may receive all the fume of it. This done, the 76 *Pſalm* read and ſome other prayers repeated, the Bell hath received his whole and entire Baptiſme, and theſe virtues following, *viz. Ut per illius tactum procul pellantur omnes inſidiæ inimici, fragor grandium, procellæ turbinum, impetus tempeſtatum, &c.* For ſo one of the prayers reckoneth them preſcribed in the *Roman Pontificall*, authorized by *Clement* VIII. A ſtrange piece of Religion that a Bell ſhould be Baptized; and ſo much the ſtranger, in that theſe inanimate bodies can be received into the Church, by no other miniſtry then that of the Biſhop; the true Sacrament being permitted to every hedge Prieſt.

Not farre from the Weſt gate of this Church of *Noſtre dame*, is the *Hoſtel dieu*, or *Le grand Hoſpital de Paris*; firſt founded by St. *Lewis*, *anno* 1258. it hath been ſince beautifyed and enlarged, *anno* 1535. by Mr. *Anthony Pratt* Chancellour of *France*, who augmented the number of Hoſpitalers; and gave fair revenues for the maintaining of Chirurgeons, Apothecaries, and Religious men among them. Since that time, the *Provoſts* and *Eſchevins* of *Paris* have been eſpeciall Benefactors unto it. At the firſt entrance into it, you come into their Chappell, ſmall, but handſome and well furniſhed; after, you paſſe into a long gallery, having four ranks of beds, two cloſe to the two wals, and two in the middle. The beds are all ſutable one to the other; their Valence, Curtains and Rugs being all yellow. At the right hand of it, was a gallery more then double the length of this firſt, ſo alſo furniſhed. At the further end of this a door opened into another Chamber, dedicated only to ſick women: and within them another room, wherein women with childe are lightned of their burden, and their children kept till ſeven years of age, at the charge of the Hoſpitall. At the middle of the firſt gallery towards the left hand, were

were four other ranks of beds, little differing from the reſt, but that their furniture was blew; and in them there was no place for any but ſuch as were ſomewhat wounded, and belonged properly to the Chirurgeon. There are numbred in the whole Hoſpitall no fewer then 700 beds (beſides thoſe of the attendants, Prieſts, Apothecaries, *&c*) and in every bed two perſons. One would imagine that in ſuch a variety of wounds and diſeaſes, a walke into it, and a view of it, might ſavour more of curioſity, then diſcretion, but indeed it is nothing leſſe; for beſides that no perſon of an infectious diſeaſe is admitted into it: which maketh much for the ſafety of ſuch as view it; all things are there kept ſo cleanly, neatly and orderly, that it is ſweeter walking there then in the beſt ſtreet of *Paris*, none excepted.

Next unto theſe ſucceedeth *La Sancte Chappelle*, ſituate in the middle of the *Palais*; a Chappell famous for its forme, but more for its Reliques. It was founded by *Lewis* IX. vulgarly called St. *Lewis*, 1248. and is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, the lower ſerving for the keeping of the Reliques; and the upper for celebrating the Maſſe. It is a comely ſpruce Edifice without, but far more curious within; the glaſſe of it for the excellency of painting, and the Organs for the richneſſe and elaborate workmanſhip of the caſe, not giving way to any in *Europe*. I could not learn the number of *Chanoins*, which are maintained in it, though I heard they were places of 300 Crowns revenue. As for their Treaſurer, *Le Threaſururier*, ſo they call their Governour; He hath granted him by eſpecall priviledge licence to wear all the Epiſcopall habits, except the Croſier-ſtaffe; and to bear himſelfe as a Biſhop within the liberties of his Chappell. In the top of the upper Chappell (it is built almoſt in forme of a *Synagogue*) there hangeth the true proportion (as they ſay) of the Crown of thornes: but of this more when we have gone over the Reliques. I was there divers times to

have ſeen them, but (it ſeemeth) they were not vible to an *Hugnots* eyes; though me thinketh, they might have conſidered, that my money was Catholique. They are kept, as I ſaid, in the lower Chappell, and are thus marſhalled in a Table, hanging in the upper; know then that you may believe that they can ſhew you the crown of thornes, the bloud which ran from our Saviours breſt, his ſwadling cloutes, a great part of the Croſſe (they alſo of *Noſtre dame* have ſome of it) the chaine by which the *Jewes* bound him, no ſmall peece of the ſtone of the Sepulchre, *Sanctam toelam tabulæ inſertam*, which I know not how to *Engliſh*. Some of the Virgins milke, (for I would not have thoſe of St. *Denis* think, that the Virgin gave no other milk, but to them) the head of the Lance which pierced our Saviour, the purple Robe, the Sponge, a piece of his Shroud, the napkin wherewith he was girted when he waſhed his Diſciples feet, the rod of *Moſes*, the heads of St. *Blaſe*, St. *Clement*, and St. *Simeon*, and part of the head of *John Baptiſt*. Immediately under this recitall of theſe Reliques (and venerable ones I durſt ſay they were, could I be perſwaded there were no impoſture in them) there are ſet down a *Prayer* and an *Anthem*, both in the ſame Table; as followeth.

Oratio.

Quæſumus Omnipotens Deus, ut qui ſacra ſanctiſſimæ redemptionis noſtræ inſignia, temporaliter veneramur: per hæc indeſinenter muniti, æternitatis gloriam conſequamur, per dominum noſtrum, &c.

De

De ſacroſanctis reliquiis

Antiphona.

Chriſto plebs dedita, Tot Chriſti donis prædita
Jocunderis hodie, Tota ſis devota,
Erumpens in jubilum, Depone mentis nubilum;
Tempus eſt lætitiæ, Cura ſit ſummota,
Ecce crux et Lancea, ferrum, corona ſpinea,
Arma regis gloriæ, Tibi offerantur,
Omnes terræ populi, laudent actorem ſeculi,
Per quem tantis gratiæ ſignis gloriantur. Amen.

Pretty Divinity, if one had time to examine it. Theſe Reliques as the Table informeth us, were given unto St. *Lewis*, *ann.* 1247. by *Baldwin* the II. the laſt King of the *Latines* in *Conſtantinople*; to which place the *Chriſtians* of *Paleſtine* had brought them, during the times that thoſe parts were harryed by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. Certainly, were they the ſame, which they are given out to be, I ſee no harme in it, if we ſhould honour them. The very reverence due unto antiquity and a ſilver head, could not but extract ſome acknowledgment of reſpect, even from an *Heathen*. It was therefore commendably done by Pope *Leo*, having received a parcell of the Croſſe from the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, that he entertained it with reſpect, *Particulam dominicæ crucis* (ſaith he in his 72. Epiſtle) *cum Eulogiis dilectionis tuæ venerantur accepi.* To adore and worſhip that or any other Relick whatſoever,

with *Prayers* and *Anthems*, as the *Papiſts* you ſee do; never came within the minds of the Antients, and therefore St. *Ambroſe* calleth it, *Gentilis error, & vanitas impiorum.* This alſo was St. *Hieroms* Religion, as himſelf teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to *Riparius*, *Nos* (ſaith he) *non dico Martyrum reliquias, ſed ne Solem quidem & Lunam, non Angelos*, &c. *colimus & odoramus.* Thus were thoſe two fathers minded towards ſuch Reliques, as were known to be no others then what they ſeemed: Before too many centuries of years had conſumed the true ones; and the impoſtures of the Prieſts had brought in falſe, had they lived in our times, and ſeen the ſuppoſed remnants of the Saints, not honoured only, but adored and worſhipped by their blind and infatuated people; what would they have ſaid? or rather, what would they not have ſaid? Queſtionleſſe the leaſt they could do, were to take up the complaint of *Vigilantins* (the *Papiſts* reckon him for an *Heretick*) ſaying, *Quid neceſſe eſt tanto honore non ſolum honorare, ſed etiam adorare, illud neſcio quid, quod in vaſculo transferendo colis?*

Preſently without the Chappell is the Burſe, *La Gallerie des Merchands*; a rank of ſhops, in ſhew, but not in ſubſtance, like to thoſe in the *Exchange* in *London* It reacheth from the Chappell unto the great hall of Parliament; and is the common through-fare between them. On the bottome of the ſtaires and round about the ſeverall houſes, conſecrated to the execution of Juſtice, are ſundry ſhops of the ſame nature, meanly furniſhed if compared with ours; yet I perſwade my ſelf the richeſt of this kind in *Paris*. I ſhould now go and take a view of the *Parliament houſe*; but I will ſtep a little out of the way to ſee the *Place Daulphin*, and the little *Chaſtelet*; this laſt ſerveth now only as the Gaole or Common-priſon belonging to the Court of the *Provoſt* of *Merchants*, and it deſerveth no other imployment. It is ſeated at the end of the Bridge called *Petit Pont*, and was built by *Hugh Aubriot* once *Provoſt* of this Town, to repreſſe the fury and inſolencies of the Scholars, whoſe rudeneſſe and miſdemeanors can no wayes be better bridled.

bridled. *Omnes eos, qui nomen ipsum Academiæ, vel serio, vel joco nominassent, hæreticos pronunciavit,* saith *Platina* of Pope *Paul* the II. I dare say it of this wilderneſſe, that whoſoever will account it as an Academy, is an Heretick to Learning and Civility. The *Place Daulphin*, is a beautifull heap of building, ſituate nigh unto the new Bridge. It was built at the encouragement of *Henry* IV. and entituled according to the title of his Son. The houſes are all of brick, high built, uniforme, and indeed ſuch as deſerve and would exact a longer deſcription, were not the Parliament now ready to ſit, and my ſelf ſommoned to make my appearance.

CHAP.

Chap. VIII.

The Parliament of France *when begun; of whom it consisted. The dignity and esteem of it abroad, made* sedentarie *at* Paris, *appropriated to the long robe. The* Palais *by whom built, and converted to seats of Justice. The seven Chambers of Parliament. The great Chamber. The number and dignity of the Presidents. The Duke of* Biron *afraid of them. The Kings seat in it. The sitting of the* Grand Signeur *in the* Divano. *The authority of this Court in causes of all kinds; and over the affaires of the King. This Court the main pillar of the Liberty of* France. La Tournelle, *and the Judges of it. The five Chambers of* Enqueſtes *severally instituted, and by whom. In what cause it is* decisive. *The forme of admitting Advocates into the Courts of Parliament. The* Chancellour *of* France *and his Authority. The two Courts of* Requests, *and Masters of them. The vain envy of the* English *Clergy against the Lawyers.*

THe Court of Parliament was at the first instituted by *Charles Martell* Grandfather to *Charlemaine*, at such time as he was *Maire* of the *Palace*, unto the lasie and rechlesse Kings of *France*. In the beginnings of the *French* Empire, their Kings did justice to their people in person: afterwards banishing themselves from all the affaires of State, that burden was cast upon the shoulders of their *Maiors*; an office much of a nature with the *Præfecti prætorio* in the *Roman* Empire. When this office was bestowed upon the said *Charles*

Charles Martell, he partly weary of the trouble, partly intent about a buſineſſe of an higher nature, which was, the eſtating the Crown in his own poſterity; but principally to endeer himſelf to the common people, ordained this Court of Parliament, *anno* 720. It conſiſted in the beginning of 12 *Peers*, the *Prelates* and noble men of the beſt faſhion, together with ſome of the principalleſt of the Kings houſhold. Other Courts have been called the Parliaments with an addition of place, as of *Paris*, at *Roven*, *&c.* this only κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the Parliament. It handled as well cauſes of eſtate, as thoſe of private perſons. For hither did the Ambaſſadors of neighbour Princes repaire, to have their audience and diſpatch; and hither were the Articles agreed on, in the nationall *Synods* of *France* ſent to be confirmed and verified; here did the ſubjects tender in their homages, and Oaths of fidelity to the King; and here were the appeals heard of all ſuch as had complained againſt the *Comites*, at that time the Governours and Judges in their ſeverall Counties. Being furniſhed thus with the prime and choyceſt Nobles of the Land, it grew into great eſtimation abroad in the world; inſomuch that the Kings of *Sicilie*, *Cyprus*, *Scotland*, *Bohemia*, *Portugall*, and *Navarre*, have thought it no diſparagement unto them to ſit in it; and which is more, when *Frederick* II. had ſpent ſo much time in quarrels with Pope *Innocent* IV. he ſubmitted himſelf and the rightneſſe of his cauſe to be examined by this Noble Court of Parliament. At the firſt inſtitution of this Court, it had no ſetled place of reſidence, being ſometimes kept at *Tholoza*, ſometimes at *Aix la Chappelle*, ſometimes in other places, according as the Kings pleaſure, and eaſe of the people did require. During its time of peregrination, it was called *Ambulatoire*, following for the moſt part the Kings Court, as the lower *ſphæres* do the motion of the *primum mobile*; but *Philip le bel* (he began his reign *anno* 1286) being to take a journey into *Flanders*, and to ſtay there a long ſpace of time, for the ſetling of his affaires in that Countrey, took order that this Court of Parliament ſhould ſtay behind at *Paris*; where ever ſince it hath continued.

Now began it to be called *Sedentaire* or ſetled, and alſo *peua peu*, by little and little to loſe much of its luſtre. For the chief Princes and Nobles of the Kings retinue, not able to live out of the aire of the Court, withdrew themſelves from the troubles of it; by which means at laſt it came to be appropriated to them of the Long robe, as they term them, both Biſhops and Lawyers. In the year 1463. the Prelates alſo were removed by the command of *Lewis* XI. an utter enemy to the great ones of his Kingdome, only the Biſhop of *Paris*, and Abbot of St. *Denis*, being permitted their place in it: ſince which time the Profeſſors of the civill law have had all the ſway in it, *Et cedunt arma togæ*, as *Tully*.

The place in which this Sedentarie Court of Parliament is now kept, is called the *Palace*, being built by *Philip le bel*, and intended to be his manſion or dwelling houſe. He began it in the firſt year of his reign, *anno* 1286. and afterwards aſſigned a part of it to his Judges of the Parliament: it being not totally and abſolutely quitted unto them till the dayes of King *Lewis* XII. In this the *French* Subjects are beholding to the *Engliſh*; by whoſe good example they got the eaſe of a Sedentarie Court: our Law courts alſo removing with the King, till the year 1224. when by a Statute in the *Magna Charta* it was appointed to be fixt; and a part of the Kings Palace in *Weſtminſter* allotted for that purpoſe.

Within the verge of this *Palais* are contained the ſeven Chambers of the Parliament; that called *La grande Chambre*; five Chambers of Inquiſition, *Des Enqueſtes*; and one other called *La Tournelle*. There are moreover the Chambers, *des aides*, *des accomptes*, *de l' edict*, *des monnoyes*, and one called *La Chambre Royall*; of all which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in their proper places: theſe not concerning the common government of the people, but only of the Kings revenues. Of theſe ſeven Chambers of Parliament, *La grande Chambre* is moſt famous; and at the building of this houſe by *Philip le bel*, was intended for the Kings bed. It is no ſuch beautifull piece as the *French* make it, that of *Roven* being far beyond it; although indeed it much excell the

faireſt

faireſt room of Juſtice in all *Weſtminſter*; ſo that it ſtandeth in a middle rank between them, and almoſt in the ſame proportions as *Virgil* betwixt *Homer* and *Ovid*.

Quantum Virgilius magno conceſſit Homero;
Tantum ego Virgilio Naſo poeta meo.

It conſiſteth of ſeven *Preſidents*, 22 *Counſellours*, the Kings *Atturney*; and as many *Advocates* and *Proctours* as the Court will pleaſe to give admiſſion to. The *Advocates* have no ſetled ſtudies within the *Palais*, but at the Barre; but the *Procureurs* or *Attorneys* have their ſeverall pews in the great Hall, which is without this *Grande Chambre*, in ſuch manner as I have before deſcribed at *Roven*: a large building it is, fair and high rooſed: not long ſince ruined by a caſualty of fire, and not yet fully finiſhed. The names of the Preſidents are Mr. *Verdun*, the firſt Preſident, or by way of excellencie, *Le Preſident*, the ſecond man of the Long robe in *France*. 2. Mr. *Sequer*, lately dead, and likely to have his ſon ſucceed him, as well in his Office, as in his Lands. 3. Mr. *Leiger*. 4. Mr. *Doſambe*. 5. Mr. *Sevin*. 6. Mr. *Baillure*. And 7. Mr. *Meiſme*. None of theſe, neither Preſidents nor Counſellors, can go out of *Paris*, when the Lawes are open, without leave of the Court: it was ordained ſo by *Lewis* XII. *anno* 1499. and that with good judgement; Sentences being given with greater awe, and buſineſſes managed with greater majeſty when the Bench is full: and it ſeemeth indeed that they carry with them great terror; for the Duke of *Biron*, a man of as uncontrouled ſpirit, as any in *France*, being called to anſwer for himſelf in this Court, proteſted, that thoſe ſcarlet roabs did more amaze him, then all the red caſſocks of *Spain*.

At the left hand of this *Grande Chambre*, or *Golden Chambre* as they call it; is a Throne or ſeat Royall, reſerved for the King, when he ſhall pleaſe to come and ſee the adminiſtration of Juſtice amongſt his people; at common times it is naked and plain, but when the King is expected, it is clothed with blew-purple Velvet, ſemied with *flowers de lys*; on each ſide of it are two formes or benches, where the *Peers*

of both habits, both Eccleſiaſticall and Secular, uſe to ſit and accompany the King. But this is little to the eaſe or benefit of the Subject, and as little availeable to try the integrity of the Judges; his preſence being alwayes foreknown, and ſo accordingly they prepared. Far better then is it, in the *Grande Signeur*, where the *Divano*, or Councell of the *Turkiſh* affairs holden by the *Baſſas*, is hard by his bed-chamber which looketh into it: the window which giveth him this entervenue is perpetually hidden with a curtain on the ſide of the partition, which is towards the *Divano*; ſo that the *Baſſas* and other Judges cannot at any time aſſure themſelves that the Emperor is not liſtning to their ſentences: an action in which nothing is *Turkiſh* or *Mahometan*.

The authority of this Court extendeth it ſelf unto all cauſes within the juriſdiction of it, not being meerly eccleſiaſticall. It is a law unto it ſelf, following no rule written in their ſentences, but judging according to equity and conſcience. In matters criminall of greater conſequence, the proceſſe is here immediately examined, without any preparation of it by the inferior Courts; as at the arraignment of the Duke of *Biron*: and divers times alſo in matters perſonall. But their power is moſt eminent in diſpoſing the affaires of State, and of the Kingdome. For ſuch prerogatives have the *French* Kings given hereunto, that they can neither denounce War, nor conclude Peace, without the conſent (a formall one at the leaſt) of this Chamber. An alienation of the Lands of the Crown, is not any whit valid, unleſſe confirmed by this Court: neither are his Edicts in force, till they are here verified: nor his Letters Patents for the creating of a Peer, till they are here allowed of. Moſt of theſe, I confeſſe, are little more then matters of form, the Kings power and pleaſure being become boundleſſe; yet ſufficient to ſhew the body of authority which they once had, and the ſhadow of it, which they ſtill keep; yet of late they have got into their diſpoſing one priviledge belonging formerly to the *Conventus ordinum*, or the Aſſembly of three Eſtates, which is the conferring of the regency or protection of their King during his minority. That the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates formerly had this priviledge is evi-

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dent by their ſtories. Thus we finde them to have made Queen *Blanche* Regent of the Realm, during the nonage of her ſon St. *Lewis*, 1227. That they declared *Philip de Valois* ſucceſſor to the Crown, in caſe that the widow of *Charles le bel*, was not delivered of a ſon, 1357. As alſo *Philip* of *Burgogne*, during the Lunacy of *Charles* VI. 1394. with divers other. On the other ſide we have a late example of the power of the Parliament of *Paris* in this very caſe. For the ſame day that *Henry* IV. was ſlain by *Raviliac*, the Parliament met, and after a ſhort conſultation, declared *Mary de Medices*, Mother to the King, *Regent* in *France*, for the government of the State, during the minority of her ſon, with all power and authority. Such are the words of the Inſtrument, Dated the 14 of *May* 1610.

It cannot be ſaid but that this Court deſerveth not only this, but alſo any other indulgence, whereof any one member of the Common-wealth is capable. So watchfull are they over the health of the State, and ſo tenderly do they take the leaſt danger threatned to the liberty of that Kingdom, that they may not unjuſtly be called, *patres patriæ*. In the year 1614. they ſeized upon a diſcourſe written by *Suarez* a Jeſuite, Entituled, *Adverſus Anglicanæ ſectæ errores*: wherein the Popes temporall power over Kings and Princes is averred: which they ſentenced to be burnt in the Palace-yard by the publick hangman. The year before they inflicted the ſame punihment upon a vain and blaſphemous diſcourſe penned by *Gaſper Scioppius*, a fellow of a moſt deſperate brain, and a very incendiary. Neither hath *Bellarmine* himſelf, that great *Atlas* of the *Roman* Church, eſcaped much better: for writing a book concerning the temporall power of his Holineſſe, it had the ill luck to come into *Paris*, where the Parliament finding it to thwart the liberty and royalty of the King and Countrey, gave it over to the Hangman, and he to the fire. Thus it is evident that the titles which the *French* writers give it, as the *true Temple of French Juſtice*, the *buttreſſe of equity*, and the *gardian of the rights of France*, and the like, are abundantly deſerved of it.

The next Chamber in esteem is the *Tournelle*, which handleth all matters criminall. It is so called from *tourner*, which signifieth to change or alter; because the Judges of the other severall chambers give sentence in this, according to their severall turns; the reason of which institution is said to be, lest a continuall custome of condemning, should make the Judges lesse mercifull, and more prodigall of bloud: an order full of health and providence. It was instituted by the above named *Philip de bel*, at the same time when he made the Parliament *sedentarie* at *Paris*; and besides its peculiar and originall imployments, it receiveth appeals from, and redresseth the errors of the Provost of *Paris*. The other five Chambers are called *Des Enquestes*, or *Cameræ inquisitionum*; the first and antienteſt of them was erected also by *Philip le bel*, and afterwards divided into two by *Charles* VII. Afterwards the multitude of Processes being greater then could be dispatched in these Courts, there was added a third. *Francis* the first established the fourth for the better raising of a sum of money which then he wanted; every one of the new Counsellors paying right deerly for his place. The fifth and last was founded in the year 1568. In each of these severall Chambers there are two Presidents, and 20 Counsellors, besides Advocates and Proctours *ad placitum*. In the *Tournelle*, which is an aggregation of all the other Courts, there are supposed to be no fewer then 200 officers of all sorts; which is no great number considering the many causes there handled. In the *Tournelle*, the Judges sit on life and death; in the Chamber of *Enquests*, they examine only civill affaires of estate, title, debts, or the like. The pleaders in these Courts are called *Advocates*, and must be at the least *Licentiates* in the study of the Law. At the Parliaments of *Tholoza* and *Bourdeaux*, they admit of none but Doctors. Now the forme of admitting them is this: In an open and frequent Court, one of the aged'st of the Long roab presenteth the party, which desireth admission, to the Kings Attorney generall, saying with a loud voice, *Paise a cour recevoir N. N. licencie* (or *Docteur*) *en droict civil, a la office d' Advocate*; This said, the Kings Attorney biddeth him hold up his hand, and saith to him in Latine, *Tu jurabis observare omnes regias consuetudines*;

ſuetudines; he anſwereth *Juro*, and departeth. At the Chamber door of the Court, whereof he is now ſworn an Advocate, he payeth two crowns; which is forthwith put into the common treaſury appointed for the relief of the diſtreſſed widows of ruined Advocates and Proctours; *Hanc veniam petimuſque damuſque*, it may be their own caſes, and therefore it is paid willingly. The higheſt preferment of which theſe Advocates are capable is that of Chancellor, an office of great power and profit: the preſent Chancellor is named Mr. *d' Allegre*, by birth of *Chartres*. He hath no ſettled Court wherein to exerciſe his authority, but hath in all the Courts of *France* the Supream place whenſoever he will vouchſafe to viſite them. He is alſo Preſident of the Councell of Eſtate by his place; and on him dependeth the making of good and ſacred laws, the adminiſtration of Juſtice, the reformation of ſuperfluous, and abrogation of unprofitable Edicts, &c. He hath the keeping of the Kings great ſeal, and by virtue of that, either paſſeth or putteth back ſuch Letters patents and Writs as are exhibited to him. He hath under him, immediately for the better diſpatch of his affaires, four Maſters of the Requeſts and their Courts. Their office and manner of proceeding, is the ſame which they alſo uſe in *England*; in the perſons there is thus much difference, for that in *France*, two of them muſt be perpetually of the Clergy. One of their Courts is very antient, and hath in it two Preſidents, which are two of the Maſters; and 14 Counſellors. The other is of a later erection, as being founded *anno* 1580. and in that, the two other of the Maſters and eight Counſellors give ſentence.

Thus have I taken a view of the ſeverall Chambers of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of their particular juriſdictions, as far as my information could conduct me. One thing I noted further, and in my mind the faireſt ornament of the Palace, which is the neatneſſe and decency of the Lawyers in their apparell; for beſides the faſhion of their habit, which is I aſſure you, exceeding pleaſing and comely, themſelves by their own care and love to handſomeneſſe, add great luſtre to their garments, and more to their perſons. Richly dreſt they are, and well may be ſo, as being the ableſt and moſt powerfull men under the Princes and *la Nobleſſe*, in all the Countrey; an happineſſe,

happineſſe, as I conjecture rather of the calling then the men. It hath been the fate and deſtinie of the Law to ſtrengthen and inable its profeſſors beyond any other Art or Science: the pleaders in all Common-wealths, both for ſway amongſt the people, and vogue amongſt the military men, having alwayes had the preheminence. Of this rank were *Pericles*, *Phocion*, *Alcibiades*, and *Demoſthenes* amongſt the *Athenians*, *Antonius*, *Cato*, *Cæſar* and *Tully* at *Rome*; men equally famous for Oratory and the Sword: yet this I can confidently ſay, that the ſeverall ſtates above mentioned, were more indebted to *Tully* and *Demoſthenes*, being both meer gown-men, then to the beſt of their Captains; the one freeing *Athens* from the armies of *Macedon*, t h other delivering *Rome* from the conſpiracy of *Catiline*.

O fortunatam natam te Conſule Romam!

It is not then the fate of *France* only, nor of *England*, to ſee ſo much power in the hands of the Lawyers: and the caſe being generall, me thinks the envie ſhould be the leſſe: and leſſe it is indeed with them then with us. The *Engliſh* Clergy, though otherwiſe the moſt accompliſht in the world, in this folly deſerveth no Apologie; being ſo ſtrongly ill affected to the pleaders of their Nation, that I fear it may be ſaid of ſome of them, *Quod invidiam non ad cauſam, ſed perſonam & ad voluntatem dirigunt*; a weakneſſe not more unworthy of them, then prejudiciall to them. For by foſtering between both gowns ſuch an unneceſſary emulation, they do but exaſperate that power which they cannot controul, and betray themſelves to much envie and diſcontentedneſſe; a diſeaſe whoſe cure is more in my wiſhes then my hopes.

Chap.

Chap. IX.

The Kings Palace of the Louure, *by whom built. The unsutableneſſe of it. The fine Gallery of the Queen Mother. The long Gallery of* Henry IV. *His magnanimous intent to have built it into a quadrangle.* Henry IV. *a great builder. His infinite project upon the* Mediterranean *and the* Ocean. La Salle des Antiques. *The* French *not ſtudious of Antiquities.* Burbon *houſe. The Tuilleries,* &c.

WE have diſcharged the King of one Palace, and muſt follow him to the other, where we ſhall finde his reſidence. It is ſeated at the Weſt ſide of the Town or *Ville* of *Paris*, hard by *Portenuſue*, and alſo by the new bridge. A houſe of great fame, and which the Kings of *France* have long kept their Court in. It was firſt built by *Philip Auguſtus*, *anno* 1214. and by him intended for a Caſtle: it firſt ſerving to impriſon the more potent of the Nobles; and to lay up the Kings treaſury. For that cauſe it was well moated, ſtrengthned with wals and drawbridges, very ſerviceable in thoſe times. It had the name of *Louure*, *quaſi L'oeuure*, or the work, the building, by way of excellency. An etymologie which draweth nigher to the ear, then the underſtanding, or the eye; and yet the *French* writers would make it a miracle. *Du Cheſne* calleth it, *Superbe baſtiment, qui n'a ſon eſgal en toute la Chriſtientè*; and you ſhall hear it called in an other place, *Beſtiment qui paſſe, aujourd hui en excellence et en grandeur, tous les autres.* Brave elogies, if all were gold that gliſtered. It hath now given up its charge of money and

great priſoners to the *Baſtile*, and at this time ſerveth only to impriſon the Court. In my life, I never ſaw any thing more abuſed by a good report, or that more belyeth the rumors that go of it. The ordinary talk of vulgar travellers, and the big words of the *French*, had made me expect at the leaſt ſome prodigie of architecture; ſome ſuch Majeſticall houſe as the Sunne *Don Phœbus* is ſaid to have dwelt in, in *Ovid*.

Regia Solis erat ſublimibus alta columnis,
Clara micante auro, flamaſque imitante pyropo,
Cujus ebur nitidum, &c.

Indeed I thought no fiction in Poetry had been able to have paralleld it: and made no doubt but it would have put me into ſuch a paſſion as to have cryed out with the young Gallant in the Comedy, when he had ſeen his ſweet-heart, *Hei mihi qualis erat? talis erat qualem nunquam vidi*; But I was much deceived in that hope, and could finde nothing in it to admire, much leſſe to envie. The Fable of the Mountaine which was with childe, and brought forth a mouſe; is queſtionleſſe a fable: this houſe and the large fame it hath in the world, is the morall of it. Never was there an houſe more unſutable to it ſelf in the particular examination of parts, nor more unſutable to the character and eſteem of it in the generall Survey of the whole.

You enter into it over two draw-bridges, and through three gates, ruinous enough, and abundantly unſightly. In the Quadrangle you meet with three ſeverall faſhions of building, of three ſeverall ages, and they ſo unhappily joyned one to the other, that one would half believe they had been clapped together by an earthquake. The South and Weſt parts of it are new, and indeed Princelike; being the work of *Francis* the firſt, and his ſon *Henry*. Had it been all caſt into the ſame mould, I perſwade my ſelf that it would be very gracious and lovely. The other two are of an ancient work, and ſo contemptible, that they diſgrace the reſt; and of theſe I ſuppoſe the one ſide

to

to be at the leaſt 100 years older then his partner: ſuch is it without. As for the inſide, it is far more graceſull, and would be pleaſing at the entrance, were the Guard-chamber reformed. Some *Hugonot* architect, which were not in love with the errours of Antiquity, might make a pretty room of it; a *catholick* Carpenter would never get credit by it: for whereas the provident thrift of our fore-fathers intended it (for the houſe would elſe be too narrow for the Kings retinue) both for a room of ſafety and of pleaſure, both for bill-men and dancers; and for that cauſe made up ſome ſix ranks of ſeats on each ſide; that ſparingneſſe in the more curious eyes of this time, is little Kinglike: Countrey wenches might with indifferent ſtomach abuſe a good Galliard in it, or it might perhaps ſerve with a ſtage at one end to entertain the *Pariſians* at a play, or with a partition in the middle, it might be divided into two prety plauſible Cockpits; but to be employed in the nature it now is, either to ſolace the King and Lords in a dance, or to give any forain Ambaſſador his welcome in a Maske, is little ſutable with the Majeſty of a King of *France*. The Chambers of it are well built, but ill furniſhed; the hangings of them being ſomewhat below a meanneſſe; and yet of theſe there is no ſmall ſcarcity. For as it is ſaid of the *Gymnoſophiſts* of *India*, that *Una Domus & manſioni ſufficit & ſepulturæ*: ſo may we of this Prince, the ſame Chamber ſerveth for to lodge him, to feed him, and alſo to confer and diſcourſe with his Nobility. But like enough it is that this want may proceed from the ſeverall Courts of the King, the *Monſieur*, the Queen Mother and the Qeen Regnant, being all kept within it.

Proceed we now to the two Galleries, whereof the firſt is that of the Queen Mother, as being beautified and adorned exceedingly by *Katharine de Medices*, mother to *Henry* III. and *Charles* IX. It containeth the pictures of all the Kings of *France*, and the moſt loved of their Queens, ſince the time of St. *Lewis*. They ſtand each King oppoſite to his Queen, ſhe being that of his wives which either brought him moſt eſtate, or his ſucceſſors. The tables are all of a juſt length, very fair, and according to my little acquain-

tance with the Painter, of a moſt excellent workmanſhip, and which addeth much grace to it, they are in a manner a perfect Hiſtory of the State and Court of *France* in their ſeverall times. For under each of the Kings pictures, they have drawn the portraitures of moſt of thoſe Lords whom valor and courage in the field enobled beyond their births. Under each of the Queens the lively ſhapes of the moſt principall Ladies, whoſe beautie and virtue had honored the Court. A dainty invention, and happily expreſſed. At the further end of it ſtandeth the laſt King and the preſent Queen Mother; who fill up the whole room. The ſucceeding Princes, if they mean to live in their pictures, muſt either build new places for them, or elſe make uſe of the long Gallery built by *Henry* IV. and which openeth into that of the Queen Mother. A Gallery it is of an incredible length, as being above 500 yards long, and of a breadth and height not unporportionable; a room built rather for oſtentation then uſe, and ſuch as hath more in it of the majeſty of its founder then the grace. It was ſaid to have been erected purpoſely to joyn the *Louure* unto the Houſe and Garden of the *Tuilleries*, an unlikely matter that ſuch a ſtupendious building ſhould be deſigned only for a cleanly conveyance into a Summer houſe: others are of an opinion that he had a reſolution to have made the houſe quadrangular, every ſide being correſpondent to this which ſhould have been the common Gallery to the reſt. Which deſign had it taken effect, this Palace would at once have been the wonder of the world, and the envy of it. For my part, I dare be of this laſt minde, as well becauſe the ſecond ſide is in part begun, as alſo conſidering how infinitely this King was inclined to building. The *Place Daulphin*, and the *Place Royall*, two of the fineſt piles in *Paris*, were erected partly by his purſe, but principally by his encouragement. The new Bridge in *Paris* was meerly his work; ſo was alſo the new Palace, and moſt admirable waterworks of St. *Germans en lay*. This long Gallery and the new Peſt-houſe oweth it ſelf wholly to him; and the houſe of *Fountainebleau*, which is the faireſt in *France*, is beholding to him for moſt of its beauty; add to this his Fortifications beſtowed on the *Baſtile*;

his

his walling of *Arles*; and his purpose to have strengthned *Paris* according to the modern art of Towns: and you will finde the attribute of *Parietaria* or wall flower, which *Constantine* scoffingly gave unto *Trajan* for his great humour of building, to be due unto this King; but seriously and with reverence.

Besides the generall love he had to building, he had also an ambition to go beyond example, which also induceth me further to believe his intent of making that large and admirable quadrangle above spoken of, to have been serious and reall. For to omit others, certain it is, that he had a project of great spirit and difficulty, which was to joyn the *Mediterranean sea* and the *Ocean* together; and to make the Navigation from the one to the other through *France*, and not to passe by the straight of *Gibraltare* It came into Councell, *anno* 1604. and was resolved to be done by this means: The river *Garond* is Navigable from the *Ocean* almost to *Tholoza*; and the *Mediterranean* openeth it self into the Land by a little River, whose name I know not, as high as *Narbonne*. Betwixt these two places was there a Navigable channell to have been digged, and it proceeded so far towards, being actuated, that a workman had undertaken it, and the price was agreed upon. But there arising some discontents between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, about the building of the Fort *Fluentes* in the Countrey of the *Grisons*; the King not knowing what use he might have of Treasure in that quarrell, commanded the work not to go forward. However he is to be commended in the attempt, which was indeed Kinglike, and worthy his spirit: praise him in his heroick purpose and designe.

Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.

But the principal beauty, if I may judge of this so much admired Palace of the *Louure*, is a low plain room, paved under foot with bricks, and without any hangings or tapestrie on the sides; yet being the best set out and furnished to my content of any in *France*. It is called, *La Salle des Antiques*, and hath in it five of the antientest and venerablest pieces of all

the Kingdome. For this Nation generally is regardleſſe of Antiquity, both in the monuments and ſtudie of it, ſo that you ſhall hardly find any ancient inſcription, or any famous ruine ſnatched from the hand of time, in the beſt of their Cities or Churches. In the Church only of *Amiens* could I meet with an ancient character, which alſo was but a *Gothiſh Dutch* letter, and expreſſed nothing but the name and virtue of a Biſhop of the Church on whoſe tomb it was. So little alſo did I perceive them to be inclined to be Antiquaries, that both neglects conſidered, *Si verbis audacia detur*, I dare confidently aver, not only that the Earl of *Arundels* Gardens have more antiquities of this kind, then all *France* can boaſt of; but that one *Cotton* for the Treaſury, and one *Selden* (now Mr. *Camden* is dead) for the ſtudy of the like antiquities; are worth all the *French*. As for theſe five pieces in *La Salle des Antiques*, they are I confeſſe worthy obſervation, and reſpect alſo, if they be ſuch as our Trudgemen enforme us. At the farther end of it is the Statua of *Diana*, the ſame, as is ſaid, which was worſhipped in the renowned Temple of *Epheſus*; and of which *Demetrius* the Silverſmith and his fellow artiſts, cryed out μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις ἡ Ἐφεσίων, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians*. Of a large and manly proportion ſhe ſeemeth to be.

Quantum & quale latus, quam invenile femur!
As *Ovid* of his Miſtreſſe.

She is all naked ſave her feet, which are buskin'd; and that ſhe hath a skarfe or linnen rowl, which coming over her left ſhoulder, and meeting about her middle, hung down with both ends of it a little lower. In the firſt place on the right hand as we deſcended towards the door, was the Statua of one of the Gods of *Ethiopia*, as black as any of his people, and one that had nothing about him to expreſſe his particular being. Next to him the Effigies of *Mercury*, naked all except his feet, and with a pipe in his mouth, as when he inchanted *Argus*: *Namque reperta fiſtula nuper erat*, ſaith the *Metamorphoſis*. Next unto him the portraiture of *Venus* quight, and moſt immodeſtly unapparelled; in her hand her little

little ſon *Cupid*, as well arraied as his mother, ſitting on a *Dolphin*. Laſt of all *Apollo* alſo in the ſame naked truth, but that he had ſhooes on, he was portraied as lately returned from a combate, perhaps that againſt the Serpent *Python*.

Quem Deus arcitenens & nunquam talibus armis
Ante niſi in damis capreiſque fugacibus uſus,
Mille gravem telis, (exhauſta pæne pharetra)
Perdidit effuſo per vulnera nigra venero.

As *Ovid*.

The Archer-god, who ere that preſent tide
Nere us'd thoſe armes, but againſt the Roes and Deer,
With thouſand ſhafts, the earth made to be died
With Serpents bloud, his quiver emptied cleer.

That I was in the right conjecture, I had theſe reaſons to perſwade me, the quiver on the Gods right ſhoulder almoſt emptied, his warlike belt hanging about his neck, his garments looſely tumbling upon his left armes, and the ſlain Monſter being a water Serpent, as *Python* is fained to be by the Poets: all of theſe were on the ſame ſide of the wall, the other being altogether deſtitute of ornaments: and are confidently ſaid to be the Statuas of thoſe Gods, in the ſame formes as they were worſhipped in, and taken from their ſeverall Temples. They were beſtowed on the King by his Holineſſe of *Reme*, and I cannot blame him for it, it was worthy but little thanks, to give unto him the Idols of the *Heathens*, who for his Holineſſe ſatisfaction had given himſelf to the Idols of the *Romans*. I believe that upon the ſame termes, the King of *England* might have all the Reliques and ruines of Antiquity which can be found in *Rome*.

Without this room, this *Salle des Antiques* and ſomewhat on the other ſide of the *Louure*, is the houſe of *Burbon*, an old decayed fabrick, in which nothing was obſervable, but the Omen, for being built by *Lewis* of *Burbon*, the third

third Duke of that branch, he cauſed this motto *ESPERANCE* to be engraven in Capitall Letters over the door, ſignifying his hope, that from his loins ſhould proceed a King which ſhould joyn both the Houſes and the Families, and it is acccordingly hapned. For the *Tuilleries* I having nothing to ſay of them, but that they were built by *Katharine de Medices* in the year 1564. and that they took name from the many Lime-kils and Tile-pits there being, before the foundation of the Houſe and the Garden, the word *Tuilleries* importing as much in the *French* language, I was not ſo happy as to ſee, and will not be indebted to any for the relation.

The End of the Second Book.

A SURVEY OF THE STATE of FRANCE.

La BEAUSE, OR, *THE THIRD BOOK.*

CHAP. I.

Our Journy towards Orleans, *the Town, Caſtle, and Battail of* Mont l' hierrie. *Many things imputed to the* Engliſh *which they never did.* Lewis *the* 11. *brought not the* French *Kings out of wardſhip. The town of* Chartroy, *and the mourning Church there. The Countrey of* La Beauſe *and people of it.* Eſtampes. *The dancing there. The new art of begging in the Innes of this Countrey.* Angerville. Tury. *The ſawcineſs of the* French *Fidlers. Three kindes of Muſick amongſt the Ancients. The French Muſick.*

HAving abundantly ſtifled our ſpirits in the ſtink of *Paris*, on Tueſday being the 12 of *July*, we took our leave of it, and prepared our ſelves to entertain the ſweet Air and Wine of *Orleans*. The day fair and

not so much as disposed to a cloud, save that they began to gather together about noon, in the nature of a curtain to defend us from the injury of the Sun. The wind rather sufficient to fan the air, then to disturb it, by qualifying the heat of the Celestial fire, brought the air to an excellent mediocrity of temper: you would have thought it a day meerly framed for the great Princesse Nature to take her pleasure in, and that the birds which cheersully gave us their voices from the neighbouring bushes, had been the loud musick of her Court. In a word, it was a day solely consecrated to a pleasant journey, and he that did not put it to that use, mis-spent it: having therefore put our selves into our wagon, we took a short farewell of *Paris*, exceeding joyfull that we yet lived to see the beauty of the fields again, and enjoy the happinesse of a free heaven. The Countrey such as that part of the Isle of *France* towards *Normandy*; only that the corn grounds were larger, and more even. On the left hand of us we had a side-glance of the royall house of *Boys* St. *Vincennes*, and the Castle of *Biseſtre*; and about some two miles beyond them we had a sight also of a new house lately built by Mr. *Sillery* Chancellor of the Kingdome, a pretty house it promised to be, having two base Courts on the hither side of it, and beyond it a park; an ornament whereof many great mansions in *France* are altogether ignorant.

Four leagues from *Paris*, is the the Town of *Montliherrie*, now old and ruinous: and hath nothing in it to commend it, but the carkasse of a Castle: without it, it hath to brag of a large and spacious plain; on which was fought that memorable battail between *Lewis* the 11. and *Charles le hardie*, Duke of *Burgogne*, a battail memorable only for the running away of each Army: the field being in a manner emptied of all the forces, and yet neither of the Princes victorious. *Hic ſpe celer, ille ſalute*, some ran out of fear to die, and some out of hope to live: that it was hard to say, which of the Souldiers made most use of their heels in the combat. This notwithstanding, the King esteemed himself the conquerour, not that he overcame, but because not vanquisht. He was a Prince of no heart to make a warriour, and therefore re-

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sistance was to him almost hugged as victory. It was *Antonies* case in his war against the *Parthians*: a Captain whose Launce King *Lewis* was not worthy to bear after him. *Crassus* before him had been taken by that people: but *Antonius* made a retreat, though with losse, *Hanc itaq; fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocabat*; as *Paterculus*, one that loved him not, saith of him. Yet was King *Lewis* so puffed up with this conceit of victory, that he ever after slighted his enemies: and at last ruined them, and their cause with them. The war which they undertook against him, they had entituled the war of the Weal publick: because the occasion of their taking armes was for the liberty of their Countrey and people: both whom the King had beyond measure oppressed. True it is, they had also their particular purposes; but this was the main, and failing in the expected event of it, all that they did, was to confirm the bondage of the Realm, by their own overthrow. These Princes once disbanded, and severally broken; none durst ever afterwards enter into the action; for which reason King *Lewis* used to say that he had brought the Kings of *France*, *Hors pupillage*, out of their ward-ship: a speech of more brag then truth. The people I confesse, he brought into such terms of slavery; that they no longer merited the name of subjects, but yet for all his great boast, the Nobles of *France* are to this day the Kings Guardians. I have already shewn you much of their potency. By that you may see that the *French* Kings have not yet sued their livery, as our Lawyers call it. Had he also in some measure broken the powerableness of the Princes, he had then been perfectly his words-master; and till that be done, I shall still think his successors to be in their pupillage. That King is but half himself which hath the absolute command only of half his people.

The battail foughten by this Town, the common people impute to the *English*; and so do they also many others which they had no hand in. For hearing their Grandames talk of their wars with our nation, and of their many fields which we gained of them; they no sooner hear of a pitched field; but presently, (as the nature of men in a fright

is) they attribute it to the *Engliſh*; good ſimple ſouls, *Qui nos non ſolum laudibus noſtris ornare velint, ſed onerare alienis*, as *Tully* in his Philippicks. An humour juſt like unto that of little children, who being once frighted with the tales of *Robin Goodfellow*, do never after hear any noiſe in the night, but they ſtraight imagine, that it is he which maketh it; or like the women of the villages neer *Oxford*, who having heard the tragicall ſtory of a duck or an hen killed, and carried to the Univerſity: no ſooner miſſe one of their chickens, but inſtantly they cry out upon the Scholars. On the ſame falſe ground alſo, hearing that the *Engliſh*, whileſt they had poſſeſſions in this Countrey, were great builders; they beſtow on them without any more adoe, the foundation and perfecting of moſt of the Churches and Caſtles in the Countrey. Thus are our Anceſtors ſaid to have built the Churches of *Roven*, *Amiens*, *Bayon*, *&c.* as alſo the Caſtles of *Bois*, St. *Vincennes*, the *Baſtile*; the two little forts on the river ſide by the *Louure*: that of St. *Germans*; and amongſt many others, this of *Mont l' Hierrie*, where we now are; and all alike: as for this Caſtle, it was built during the reign of K. *Robert*, *anno* 1015. by one of his ſervants, named *Thibald*: long before the *Engliſh* had any poſſeſſions in this Continent. It was razed by *Lewis* the Groſſe, as being a harbourer of rebels in former times; and by that means, as a ſtrong bridle in the mouth of *Paris*: nothing now ſtanding of it, ſave an high Tower, which is ſeen a great diſtance round about, and ſerveth for a land mark.

Two leagues from *Mont l' Hierrie* is the Town of *Caſtres*; ſeated in the farthеſt angle of *France*, where it confineth to *La Beauſe*. A Town of an ordinary ſize, ſomewhat bigger then for a Market, and leſſe then would beſeem a City, a wall it hath, and a ditch; but neither ſerviceable further then to reſiſt the enemy at one gate, whileſt the people run away by the other: nothing elſe remarkable in it, but the habit of the Church, which was mourning: for ſuch is the faſhion of *France*, that when any of the Nobles are buried, the Church which entombeth them is painted black within and without, for the breadth of a yard, or thereabouts; and their Coats of Armes drawn on it. To go to the charges of

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hanging it round with cloth is not for their profits: besides, this counterfeit sorrow feareth no theef; and dareth out-brave a tempest: he for whom the Church of *Castres* was thus apparelled, had been Lord of the Town: by name, as I remember, Mr. St. *Benoist*; his Armes were Argent, three Cressants, Or, a Mullet of the same; but whether this Mullet were part of the Coat, or a mark only of difference, I could not learn. The like Funeral Churches, I saw also at *Tostes* in *Normandie*; and in a village of *Picardie*, whose name I minde not, *Nec operæ pretium*. And now we are passed the confines of *France*; a poor river, which for the narrowness of it, you would think to be a ditch; parting it from the Province of *La Beause*.

La Beause hath on the North, *Normandie*; on the East the Isle of *France*; on the South, *Nivernois* and *Berry*; and on the West the Countreys of *Toureine* and *Lemaine*. It lyeth in the 22 and 23 degree of Longitude; and 48 and 49 of Latitude: taking wholly up the breadth of the two former, and but parts only of each of the later; if you measure it with the best advantage for length, you will finde it to extend from *la ferte Bernard* in the North-west corner of it, to *Gyan*, in the South east; which according to the proportion of degrees, amounteth to 60 miles *English*, and somewhat better: for breadth, it is much after the same reckoning. The antient inhabitants of this Province, and the reason of the name I could not learn amongst the people: neither can I finde any certainty of it in my books with whom I have consulted. If I may be bold to go by conjecture, I should think this Countrey to have been the seat of the *Bellocassi*, a people of *Gaule Celtick* mentioned by *Cæsar* in his Commentaries. Certain it is, that in or neer this tract they were seated; and in likelihood in this Province: the names ancient and modern, being not much different in sense, though in sound; for the *Francks* called that (which in Latine is *Pulcher*, or *Bellus*) by the name of *Bel*, in the Masculine Gender, (*Ben* they pronounce it) and *Beau* if it were Feminine; so that the name of *Bello cassi*, is but varied into that of *Beause*; besides, that Province which the *Roman* writers stile *Bellovaci*, the *French* now call *Beauvais*; where

Bello is also turned into *Beau*. Add to this that the *Latine* writers do term this Countrey *Belsia*; where the antient *Bello* is still preserv'd; and my conjecture may be pardoned, if not approved. As for those which have removed this people into *Normandie*; and found them in the City of *Baieux*: I appeal to any understanding man, whether their peremptory sentence, or my submisse opinion, be the more allowable.

——Hæc si tibi vera videntur,
Dedemanus; at si falsa est, accingere contra.

The same night, we came to *Estampes*, a Town situate in a very plentiful and fruitful soyl; and watred with a river of the same name, stored with the best crevices. It seemeth to have been a town of principall importance; there being five wals and gates in a length, one before another: so that it appeareth to be rather a continuation of many towns together, then simply one. The streets are of a large breadth; the building for substance are stone; and for fashion as the rest of *France*. It containeth in it five Churches, whereof the principal, which is a Colledge of *Chanoins*, is that of *Nostre dame*; built by King *Robert*: who is said also to have founded the Castle; which now can scarsely be visited in its ruines. Without the town, they have a fine green medow, daintily seated within the circlings of the water; into which they use to follow their recreations. At my being there, the sport was dancing; an exercise much used by the *French*, who do naturally affect it. And it seemeth this natural inclination, is so strong and deep rooted; that neither age nor the absence of a smiling fortune can prevail against it. For on this dancing green, there assembled not only youth and Gentry, but age also and beggery. Old wives which could not put foot to ground without a Crutch, in the streets; had here taught their feet to hoble; you would have thought by the cleanly conveyance of their bodies that they had been troubled with the *Sciatica*: and yet so eager in the sport, as if their dancing daies should never be done. Some there were so ragged, that a swift Galliard would almost have

have ſhaked them into nakedneſs: and they alſo moſt violent to have their carkaſſes directed in a meaſure. To have attempted the ſtaying of them at home, or the perſwading of them to work, when they had heard the Fiddle, had been a task too unwieldy for *Hercules*. In this mixture of age and condition, did we obſerve them at their paſtime; the rags being ſo interwoven with the ſilks, and wrinkled browes ſo interchangeably mingled with freſh beauties: that you would have thought it, to have been a mummery of fortune. As for thoſe of both ſexes, which were altogether paſt action; they had cauſed themſelves to be carried thither in their chairs, and trod the meaſure with their eyes. The Inne which we lay in was juſt like thoſe of *Normandy*; or at the leaſt ſo like as was fit for ſiſters; for ſuch you muſt think them.

——Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diverſa tamen, qualem decet eſſe ſororum.

All the difference between them lay in the morning: and amongſt the maid-ſervants. For here we were not troubled with ſuch an importunate begging as in that other Countrey. Theſe here had learned a more neat and compendious way of getting money; and petitioned not our ears, but our noſes. By the rhetorick of a poſie, they prevailed upon the purſe; and by giving each of us a bundle of dead flowers tacked together, ſeemed rather to buy our bounties, then to beg them. A ſweeter and more generous kinde of Petitioning then the other of *Normandie*; and ſuch as may ſeem to employ in it ſome happy contradiction. For what elſe is it, that a maid ſhould proffer her ſelf to be deflowred without prejudice to her modeſty: and raiſe to her future husband an honeſt ſtock, by the uſury of a kindneſs? Refreſhed with theſe favours, we took our leave of *Eſtampes*, and the dancing miſcellany: jogging on through many a beautifull field of corn, till we came unto *Augerville* which is ſix leagues diſtant. A Town of which I could not obſerve, nor hear of any thing memorable; but that it was taken by *Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*; as he went this way

way to the ſiege of *Orleans*; and indeed, the taking of it was no great miracle, the wals being ſo thin, that an arrow would almoſt as ſoon make a breach in them as a Canon. The ſame fortune befell alſo unto *Toury*, a place not much beyond it in ſtrength or bigneſs: only that it had more confidence (as *Savage* an *Engliſh* Gentleman once ſaid) in the wals of bones, which were within it, then in the wals of ſtones which were without it. ——This Town ſtandeth in the middle way betwixt *Eſtampes* and *Orleans*: and therefore a fit ſtage to act a dinner on; and to it we went. By that time we had cleared our ſelves of our pottage, there entred upon us three uncouth fellowes, with hats on their heads like covered diſhes. As ſoon as ever I ſaw them, I caſt one eye on my cloak, and the other on my ſword: as not knowing what uſe I might have of my ſteel, to maintain my cloth. There was great talk at that time of Mr. *Soubiſes* being in armes: and I much feared that theſe might be ſome ſtraglers of his Army: and this I ſuſpected by their countenances, which were very theeviſh and full of inſolences. But when I had made a ſurvey of their apparel, I quickly altered that opinion; and accounted them as the excrement of the next priſon: deceived alike in both my jealouſies; for theſe pretty parcels of mans fleſh, were neither better nor worſe, but even arrant fidlers: and ſuch which in *England* we ſhould not hold worthy of the whipping-poſt. Our leave not asked, and no reverence on their parts performed, they abuſed our ears with an harſh leſſon: and as if that had not been puniſhment enough unto us, they muſt needs add to it one of their ſongs. By that little *French* which I had gathered, and the ſimpring of a *fille de joy* of *Paris* who came along with us; I perceived it was bawdy; and to ſay the truth, more then could be patiently endured by any but a *French* man. But *quid facerem*, what ſhould I do but endure the miſery? for I had not language enough to call them Rogues handſomely; and the villains were inferiour to a beating: and indeed not worthy of mine or any honeſt mans anger.

Præda canum lepus eſt, vaſtos non implet hiatus;
Nec gaudet tenui ſanguine tanta ſitis.

They

They were a knot of raſcals ſo infinitely below the ſeverity of a ſtatute, that they would have diſcredited the ſtocks; and to have hang'd them, had been to hazard the reputation of the gallowes. In a year you would hardly finde out ſome vengeance for them, which they would not injure in the ſuffering: unleſs it be not to hearken to their ribaldry, which is one of their greateſt torments. To proceed, after their ſong ended, one of the company (the Maſter of them it ſhould ſeem) draweth a diſh out of his pocket, and layeth it before us: into which we were to caſt our benevolence: cuſtome hath allowed them a Sol for each man at the table: they expect no more, and they will take no leſſe. No large ſum, and yet Ile aſſure you richly worth the Muſick: which was meerly *French*, that is, laſcivious in the compoſure; and *French* alſo, that is unskilfully handled in the playing.

Among the Ancients I have met with three kindes of Muſick, *viz.* firſt that which the Greeks call Ἁρμονίαν, which conſiſteth altogether of long notes, or *ſpondæus*. This was the graveſt and ſaddeſt of the reſt; called by *Ariſtotle* in the laſt chapter of his Politicks, ἠθικὴ, or morall; becauſe it ſetled the affections. *Boetius* whom we account the Claſſical author in this faculty, calleth it *Lydian*, becauſe in much uſe with thoſe of that Nation, at this day we may call it *Italian*, as being generally a peculiar muſick to that people. This is the muſick which *Eliſha* called for, to invite unto him the ſpirit of Propheſie, 1 King. 3. 15. and this is it which is yet ſung in our Churches. A practice which we derive from the ancients, however ſome of late have oppoſed it: and which is much commended by S. *Auſtin*; this being the uſe of it; *Ut per oblectamenta aurium, infirmior animus in pietatis affectum aſſurgat.* The ſecond kinde the artiſts call διάπυον, which conſiſteth of a mixture of long and and ſhort notes, or of the *Dactylus*. The philoſopher termeth it πρακτικὴ or active, becauſe it raiſed up the affections. *Boetius* termeth it the *Dorian*, becauſe it had been in much eſteem amongſt the *Dores* a *Greek* nation: we may now call it *Engliſh*; and is that muſick which cheereth the ſpirits, and is ſo ſoveraign an antidote to a minde afflicted; and

which as the Poet hath it, doth *ſaxa movere ſono*. The third ſort is that which the Greeks call χρῶμα, conſiſting altogether of ſhort notes, or *Tribrachys*. *Ariſtotle* calleth it Ενθουσιαστικὴ, or raviſhing; becauſe it unhinged the affections, and ſtirred them to laſciviouſneſſe. *Boetius* termeth it *Phrygian*, as being the ſtrain of the wanton and luxuriant people. In theſe times we may call it *French*, as moſt delighted in, by the ſtirring ſpirits, and lightneſs of this nation. A note of muſick forbidden unto youth by *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*; and not countenanced by any of them but on the common theatres, to ſatisfie the rude manners and deſires of the vulgar; καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὡς ἀναπαυσιν, and to give them alſo content in their recreations: yet is this muſick altogether in uſe in this Countrey, no leſſon amongſt their profeſt Muſitians that I could hear, which had any gravity or ſolid art ſhewed in the compoſition. They are pretty fellowes I confeſs for the ſetting of a Maske, or a Caranto; but beyond this, nothing: which maketh the muſick in their Churches ſo baſe and unpleaſing. So that the glory of perfect muſick, at this time lyeth between the *Engliſh*, and *Italian*: that of *France* being as trivial as their behaviour, of which, indeed, it is concomitant: *Mutata muſica, mutantur mores*, ſaith *Tully*: and therefore he giveth us this leſſon, *Curandum itaq; eſt ut muſica quam graviſſima & ſedatiſſima retineatur*: a good Item for the *French*.

CHAP. II.

The Country and ſite of Orleans *like that of* Worceſter. *The Wine of* Orleans. *Præſidial Towns in* France, *what they are. The ſale of Offices in* France. *The fine walk and paſtime of the* Palle Malle. *The Church of St.* Croix *founded by Superſtition and a miracle. Defaced by the* Hugonots. *Some things hated only for their name. The Biſhop of* Orleans, *and his priviledge. The Chappel and Pilgrims of St.* Jacques. *The form of Maſſe in St.* Croix. *Cenſing an Heatheniſh cuſtome. The great ſiege of* Orleans, *raiſed by* Joane *the Virgin. The valour of that woman: that ſhe was no witch. An Elogie on her.*

WEE are now come into the Countrey of *Orleans*, which though within the limits of *La Beauſe*, will not yet be an entire County of it ſelf. It is a dainty and pleaſing Region, very even and large in the fields of it, inſomuch that we could not ſee an hill, or ſwelling of the ground within eye-ſight. It conſiſteth in an indifferent meaſure of Corn, but moſt plentifully of Vines; and hath of all other fruits a very liberall portion; neither is it meanly beholding to the *Loyre*, for the benefits it receiveth by that river: on which the City of *Orleans* it ſelf is ſweetly ſeated. Of all places in *England*, *Worceſterſhire*, in mine opinion, cometh moſt nigh it; as well in reſpect of the Countrey, as the ſituation of the Town. For certainly that Countrey may be called the Epitome of *England*; as this of *France*. To the richeſt of the corn-fields of *Orleanoys* we may compare the Vale of *Eveſham*: neither will it yeeld for the choiſe and variety of fruits, the Vine only excepted. The hedges in that Countrey are prodigall and laviſh of thoſe

trees which would become the faireſt Orchards of the reſt; and in a manner recompenſeth the want of Wine, by its plenty of Perry and Sider. In a word, what a good writer hath ſaid of one, we may ſay of both; *Cælum & ſolum adeo propitium habent, ut ſalubritate & ubertate vicinis non concedant.* But the reſemblance betwixt the Towns, is more happy. Both ſeated on the ſecond river of note in their ſeveral Countreys; and which are not much unlike in their ſeveral courſes. *Severne* waſhing the wals of *Glocester*, and paſſing nigh unto *Briſtol*, ſeated on a little riveret and its homager, divideth the Antients *Britains* from the reſt of the *Engliſh*. The *Loyre*, gliding by the City of *Tours*, and paſſing nigh to *Augeire*, ſeated alſo up the land, on a little river, and one of its tributories, ſeparateth the modern *Bretagnes* from the reſt of the *French*. *Poſita eſt in loco modico acclivi ad flumen, quod turrigero ponte conjungitur, & muro ſatis firmo munita*, ſaith Mr. *Camden* of *Worceſter*: *Orleans* is ſeated on the like declivity of an hill; hath its bridge well fortified with turrets, and its wals of an equall ability of reſiſtance. *Sed decus eſt ab incolis, qui ſunt numeroſi & humani: ab ædificiorum nitore, a templorum numero, & maxime a ſede epiſcopali*; ſaith he of ours in general; we ſhall ſee it fitly applyed to this in each particular.

The people of this town are not of the feweſt: no Town in *France*, the capacity of it conſidered, being more populous; for ſtanding in ſo delicate an air, and on ſo commodious a river, it inviteth the Gentry or Nobles of the Countrey about it, to inhabit there: and they accept it. Concerning their behaviour and humanity, certainly they much exceed the *Pariſians*. I was about to ſay all the *French* men; and indeed, I need not grudge them that Elogie which *Cæſar* giveth unto thoſe of *Kent*: and verifie, that they are *omnium incolarum longe humaniſſimi*; my ſelf here obſerving more courteſie and affability in one day, then I could meet withall in *Paris*, during all my abode. The buildings of it are very ſuitable to themſelves, and the reſt of *France*; the ſtreets large and well kept: not yeelding the leaſt offence to the moſt curious noſethrill. Pariſh Churches it hath in it 26 of different and unequall being: as it uſeth to be in other places. Beſides theſe, it contains the Epiſcopal

Church

Church of St. *Croix*, and divers other houſes of religious perſons; amongſt which St. *Jacques*: of both which I ſhall ſpeak in their due order. Thus much for the reſemblance of the Towns: the difference betwixt them is this. That *Orleans* is the bigger, and *Worceſter* the richer; *Orleans* conſiſteth much of the Nobles, and of ſojourners; *Worceſter* of Citizens only, and home-dwellers. And for the manner of life in them; ſo it is, that *Worceſter* hath the handſomer women in it; *Orleans* the finer (and in mine opinion the loveliеſt of all *France*:) *Worceſter* thriveth much on Clothing; *Orleans* on their Vine-preſſes.

And queſtionleſs the Vine of *Orleans* is the greateſt riches not of the Town only, but of the Countrey alſo about it. For this cauſe *Andre du Cheſne* calleth it the prime cellar of *Paris*. *Eſt une pais* (ſaith he) *ſi heureuſe & ſi fecunde ſur tout en vine, qui on la dire l' un de premiers celiers de Paris*. Theſe Vines wherein he maketh it to be ſo happy, deſerve no leſs a commendation then he hath given them: as yeelding the beſt wines in all the Kingdome. Such as it much griev'd me to mingle with water; they being ſo delicious to the palat, and the epicuriſm of the taſte. I have heard of a *Dutch* Gentleman, who being in *Italy*, was brought acquainted with a kinde of Wine, which they there call *Lachrymæ Chriſti*. No ſooner had he taſted it, but he fell into a deep melancholy: and after ſome ſeven ſighs, beſides the addition of two grones, he brake out into this pathetical ejaculation: *Dii boni, quare non Chriſtus lachrymatus eſſet in noſtris regionibus*! This *Dutch* man and I, were for a time of one minde: inſomuch that I could almoſt have picked a quarrell with nature, for giving us none of this liquor in *England*: at laſt we grew friends again, when I had perceived how offenſive it was to the brain, (if not well qualified) for which cauſe it is ſaid, that King *Lewis* hath baniſhed it his Cellar: no doubt to the great grief of his drinking Courtiers, who may therefore ſay with *Martiall*,

Quid tantum fecere boni tibi peſſima vina?
Aut quid fecerunt optima vina mali?

This Town called *Genabum* by *Cæsar*, was reedified by *Aurelian* the Emperour, *anno* 276. and called by his name *Aurelianum*; which it still retaineth amongst the *Latines*. It hath been famous heretofore for four Councels here celebrated; and for being the siege royal of the Kings of *Orleans*, though as now I could not hear any thing of the ruines of the Palace. The fame of it at this time consisteth in the University, and its seat of justice: this Town being one of them which they call *Seiges presidiaux*. Now these *Seiges Presidiaux*, Seats or Courts of Justice were established in diverse Cities of the Realm, for the ease of the people; *anno* 1551, or thereabouts. In them all civil causes not exceeding 250 livres in money, or 10 livres in rents; are heard and determined soveraignly and without appeal. If the sum exceed those proportions, the appeal holdeth good, and shall be examined in that Court of Parliament under whose jurisdiction they are. This Court here consisteth of a Bailly whose name is Mr. *Digion*, of 12 Counsellors, two Lieutenants, one civil and the other criminal; and a publick notary. When Mr. *Le Comte de* St. *Paul*, who is Governor or Lieutenant Generall of the Province, cometh into their Court, he giveth precedency to the Bailly: in other places he receiveth it. This institution of these Presidentiall Courts, was at first a very profitable ordinance, and much eased the people: but now it is grown burthensome: the reason is, that the offices are made salable, and purchased by them with a great deal of money, which afterwards they wrest again out of the purses of the pesants: the sale of offices drawing necessarily after it, the sale of justice; a mischief which is spread so far, that there is not the poorest under-officer in all the Realm, who may not safely say with the Captain in the 22. of the *Acts* and the 28. vers. Ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην, with a great sum of money obtained I this freedome. Twenty years purchase is said to be no extraordinary rate: and I have read, that only by the sale of offices, one of the Kings had raised in 20 years 139 millions: which amounteth to the proportion of seven millions yearly, or thereabouts: of all waies to thrift and treasure the most unkingly. In the year 1614 the King mo-

motioned the abolishing of the sales of this market, but it was upon a condition more prejudicial to the people then the mischief: for he desired in lieu of it, to have a greater imposition laid upon Salt and on the Aides: which those who were Commissioners for the Commonalty would not admit of; because then a common misery had been bought out of the State to make their particular misery the greater, and so the corruption remaineth unaltered.

This Town, as it is sweetly seated in respect of the air: so is it finely convenienced with walks: of which the chief are that next unto *Paris* Gate, having the wall on one hand, and a rank of palm-trees on the other; the second that near unto the Bridge, having the water pleasingly running on both sides: and a third, which is indeed the principal, on the east side of the City. It is called the *Palle Malle*, from an exercise of that name, much used in this Kingdome: a very Gentleman-like sport, not over violent; and such as affordeth good opportunity of discourse, as they walk from one mark to the other. Into this walk, which is of a wonderful length and beauty, you shall have a clear evening empty all the Town: the aged people borrowing legs to carry them; and the younger, armes to guide them. If any young Dame or Monsieur, walk thither single, they will quickly finde some or other to link with them: though perhaps such with whom they have no familiarity. Thus do they measure and re-measure the length of the *Palle Malle*, not minding the shutting in of the day, till darkness hath taken away the sense of blushing. At all hours of the night, be it warm and dry, you shall be sure to finde them there, thus coupled: and if at the years end, there be found more children then fathers in the Town; this walk and the night are suspected shrewdly to be accessaries. A greater inconvenience in my opinion then an *English* kisse.

There is yet a fourth walk in this Town called *L' Estapp*, a walk principally frequented by Merchants: who here meet to conferre of their occasions. It lyeth before the house of Mr. *Le Comte de St. Paul* the Governour, and reacheth up to the Cloyster of St. *Croix*: of the building of which Church, I could never yet hear or read of any thing, but that which

is

is meerly fabulous, for the Citizens report, that long ſince, time out of minde, there appeared a viſion to an holy Monk, which lived thereabouts, and bad him dig deep in ſuch a place, where he ſhould finde a piece of the holy Croſſe, charging him to preſerve that bleſſed relique in great honour, and to cauſe a Church to be built in that place where it had been buried: upon this warning the Church was founded, but at whoſe charges they could not enform me: ſo that all which I could learn concerning the foundation of this Church, is that it was erected only by Superſtition and a lie. The Superſtition is apparent in their worſhipping of ſuch rotten ſticks, as they imagine to be remnants of the Croſſe; their calling of it holy, and dedicating of this Church unto it. Nay they have conſecrated unto it two holy daies, one in *May*, and the other in *September*: and are bound to ſalute it as often as they ſee it in the ſtreets or the high-waies, with theſe words, *Ave ſalus totius ſæculi arbor ſalutifera.* Horrible blaſphemy, and never heard but under Antichriſt! *Cruces ſubeundas eſſe non adorandas*, being the leſſon of the Ancients. As for the miracle, I account it as others of the ſame ſtamp: equally falſe and ridiculous. This Church in the year 1562. was defaced and ruined by the *Hugonots*, who had entred the Town under the conduct of the Prince of *Conde*. An action little ſavouring of humanity, and leſſe of Religion: the very Heathens themſelves never demoliſhing any of the Churches, of thoſe Towns which they had taken. But in this action, the *Hugonots* conſulted only with raſhneſſe, and a zealous fury, thinking no title ſo glorious as to be called the Scourge of Papiſts, and the overthrowers of Popiſh Churches.

Quid facerent hoſtes capta crudelius urbe?

The moſt barbarous enemy in the world could not more have exerciſed their malice on the vanquiſhed; and this I perſwade my ſelf had been the fate of moſt of our Churches, if that faction had got the upper hand of us. But this Church notwithſtanding, is likely now to ſurvive their madneſſe. King *Henry* the 4. began the repairing of it, and his

his Son *Lewis* hath ſince continued: ſo that the quire is now quite finiſhed, and the workmen are in hand with the reſt. What ſhould move the *Hugonots* to this execution, I cannot ſay: unleſſe it were a hate which they bare unto the name; and perhaps that not unlikely. We read how the *Romans* having expelled their Kings, baniſhed alſo *Collatinus* their Conſul: a man in whom they could finde no fault but this, that his ſurname was *Tarquin*; *tantum ob nomen & genus regium*, ſaith *Florus*: afterwards, *quam inviſum regis nomen*, is very frequent in the ſtories of thoſe times. Amongſt thoſe which had been of the conſpiracy againſt *Julius Cæſar*, there was one named *Cinna*, a name ſo odious amongſt the people, that meeting by chance with one of *Cæſar's* chief friends, and hearing that his name was *Cinna*, they preſently murthered him in the place, for which cauſe one *Caſca*, which was alſo the name of one of the Conſpirators, publiſhed a writing of his name and pedegree: ſhewing therein, that he neither was the traytor, nor any kin to him. The reaſon of his action *Dion* giveth us ὅτι τινὰ ὀνωνυμίας ἀπώλετο, *Quod Cinna nominis cauſa occideretur*. With a like hate it may be were the *French* Proteſtants poſſeſſed againſt the name of the Croſſe: for they not only ruined this temple but beat down alſo all thoſe little croſſets, betwixt *Mont Martre*, and St. *Denis*, though now King *Lewis* hath cauſed them to be re-edified. And what troubles the *French* party here in *England* have raiſed, becauſe of that harmleſſe ceremony of the croſſe; *Notius eſt quam ut ſtilo egeat*, and therefore I omit it. This Church is the ſeat of a Biſhop, who acknowledgeth the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, for his Metropolitan. The preſent Biſhop is named *Franciſcus d' Aubeſpine*, ſaid to be a worthy Scholar, and a ſound Politician; though he were never graduated further then the arts. Of his revenue I could learn nothing, but of his priviledge this: namely, that at the firſt entrance of every new Biſhop into this Church, he hath the liberty of ſetting free any of the priſoners of the Gaole: though their crime be never ſo mortall. For, the original of this indulgence: we are beholding to St. *Aignan*, once Biſhop here, and who defended the City againſt *Attila* the *Hunne*. At his firſt en-

trance into the town, (ſaith the ſtory) after he was inveſted Biſhop, he beſought *Agrippinus* the Governour, that for his ſake he would let looſe all his priſoners, *ut omnes quos pro variis criminibus pœnalis carcer detinebat incluſos, in ſui introitus gratiam redderet abſolutos*; when the Governour had heard his requeſt, he denied it: and preſently a ſtone falleth upon his head, no man knew from whence: wounded and terrified with this, the Governor granteth his deſire, recovereth her health: and ever ſince the cuſtome hath continued. For the truth of this ſtory, I intend to be no Champion: for I hold it ridiculous and ſavouring too much of the Legend: but this I am certain of, that every new Biſhop maketh a very ſolemn and majeſtick entry into the City; and at his entry, releaſeth a priſoner.

Let us follow the Biſhop into his Church, and there we ſhall finde him entertained with an high Maſſe; the ceremonies whereof are very pretty and abſurd. To go over them all, would require a volume, I will therefore mention thoſe only wherein they differ from other Maſſes: and they are two: the one fantaſtical, the other heatheniſh. For as ſoon as the prieſt at the altar hath read a certain leſſon, but what, his voice was not audible enough to tell me: out marcheth the Dean, or in his abſence, the ſenior Canon, out of the Church. Before him two or three torches, and a long croſſe ſilvered over, after him all thoſe of the Church, and laſtly the lay people, both men and women: ſo that there is none left to keep poſſeſſion, but the Prieſt and the Altar; and ſuch ſtrangers as come thither for curioſity, they go out at one door, and having firſt circuited the quire, and afterwards the body of the Church; they return to their places: and the Prieſt proceedeth. I have ſeen many a dumb ſhew in a play juſt like it. This only is the difference, that here we had no interpreter nor Chorus afforded us to ſhew us the myſterie of this ſilent geſticulation. The other addition which I obſerved here at the Maſſe (though I have ſince been told that it is ordinary at high Maſſes, in the Cathedral Churches) was the cenſing of the people: which was performed in this manner. Whileſt the Prieſt was buſie at the Altar, there entred into the quire at a ſide door, two boyes in

their

their Surplices, bearing wax-tapers in their hands: and immediately after them the foresaid fellow with the Crosse, in the rere there came two of the Priests in their copes, and other stately vestiments: between both a young lad with the incense-pot, made full of holes to let out the fume; which he swingeth on all sides of him, with a chain, to which it was fastned: having thus marched through the Church and censed the people, he ascendeth unto the Altar, and there censeth the crosse, the relicks, the bread, the wine, the chalice, the images: and I know not what not. A custome very much used amongst the Heathen. *Omnibus viris factæ sunt statuæ & ad eas thus & cerei*, saith *Tully*: and, *Jane tibi primum thura merumq; fero*, saith *Ovid* in his *de Fastis*. So have we in *Martiall*, *Te primum piathura rogent*: and the like in divers other writers of antient. At what time it crept into the Churches of the Christians, I cannot tell. Sure I am it was not used in the primitive times, nor in the third age after our Saviour: save only in their burials, *Sciant Sabæi* (saith *Tertullian*, who at that time lived) *pluris & cariores merces suas, Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam. fumigantibus*. *Arnobius* also in the 7 book *adversus gentes*, disclaimeth the use of it: and yet the Councell of *Trent* in the 22. Session, defineth it to be as boldly, *ex Apostolica institutione & traditione*, as if the Apostles themselves had told them so. I know they had rather seem to derive it from the 30 chap. and 7. vers. of *Exodus*: and so Bishop *Durand* is of opinion in his *Rationale divinorum*: but this will not help them. *Aaron* there is commanded only to burn incense on the Altar: and not to cense men and images, crosses and relicks, &c. as the Papists do. So that will they, nill they, they must be counted followers of the Heathen: though I envie them not the honour of being Jewes.

From the history and view of the Church, proceed we to that of the Town: where nothing occurreth more memorable then the great siege laid before it by the *English*. A siege of great importance to both parties. *France* having been totally won unto King *Henry*, if this Town had yeelded, and once so nigh it was to submit it self, that the people proffer'd to yeeld themselves to *Philip* Duke

of *Burgundie*, then a great confederate of our Nation: who had not been present in the Camp. But this the *English* Generall would not consent to; and it was the resolution of *Antigonus* in long time before us. *Negavit Antigonus* (saith *Justine*) *se in ejus belli prædam socios admittere, in cujus periculum solus descenderat.* On this determinate sentence of the General (he was *Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*) the Town purposed to hold out a little longer, and was at the last relieved by *Joane D' Arc*, a maid of *Vaucoleur* in *Lorrein*: whom they called *La Pusille*: how that excellent souldier the Generall was slain, and the siege raised, I need not relate. It is extant in all our Chronicles. This only now, that ever since that time the people of *Orleans* keep a solemn procession on every eighth day of *May*: on which day *anno* 1427. their City was delivered from its enemies.

But the atchievements of this brave *Virago* stayed not here, she thinks it not enough to repulse her enemies unlesse she also vanquish them: arm'd therefore, Cap a pe, she went to seek occasion of battail: and was alwaies formost, and in the head of her troops.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina bellis
Penthiselea furens: mediisq; in millibus ardet.

For her first service she taketh *Jargeau*, discomfiteth the *English*, which were within it, and maketh the Earl of *Suffolk* prisoner. Soon after followed the battail of *Patay*: in which the *English* were driven out of the field, and the great *Talbot* taken. This done, she accompanieth *Charles* the 7. whose Angel Guardian she was, through all *Campagne* unto *Rhemes*: where she saw him solemnly crowned: all the Towns of those Countreys yeelding upon the approach of her, and the Kings Army. Finally, after many acts performed above the nature of her sexe, which I will not stand here to particulate, she was taken prisoner at the siege of *Campeigne*: delivered over unto the Duke of *Bedford*, by him sent unto *Roven*, and there burnt for a Witch on the 6. of *July*, *anno* 1431. There was also another crime objected against her, as namely that she had

had abuſed the nature of her ſexe, marching up and down in the habit of a man, *Et nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens.* Of all accuſations the moſt impotent, for in what other habit could ſhe dreſſe her ſelf, undertaking, the actions of a Generall? and beſides, to have worn her womans weeds in time of battail, had been to have betrayed her ſafety; and to have made her ſelf the mark of every arrow. It was therefore requiſite that ſhe ſhould array her ſelf in compleat harneſſe; and in that habit of complete armour, have thoſe of *Orleans* erected her Statua all in braſſe, upon the middle of their bridge.

As for that other imputation of being a Witch, ſaving the credit of thoſe which condemn'd her, and theirs alſo who in their writings have ſo reported her: I dare be of the contrary opinion, for dividing her actions into two parts, thoſe which preceded her coming unto *Orleans*, and thoſe which followed it: I finde much in it of cunning, ſomewhat perhaps of valour: but nothing that is devilliſh. Her relieving of *Orleans*, and courage ſhewn at the battails of *Patay* and *Gergeau*, with her conducting of the King unto *Rhemes*: are not ſuch prodigies, that they need to be aſcribed unto witchcraft. She was not the firſt woman whom the world knew famed in armes, there being no Nation almoſt of the earth, who have not had a Champion of this ſexe, to defend their Liberties: to omit the whole Nation of *Amazons*. To the Jewes in the time of their afflictions, the Lord raiſed up ſalvation by means of two women, *Deborah* and *Judith*: and God is not the God of the *Jewes* only, but alſo of the *Gentiles*; amongſt the *Syrians Zenobia* Queen of *Palmira* is very famous; the *Romans* whom ſhe often toyled, never mentioning her without honour. The like commendable teſtimony they give of *Velleda*, a Queen amongſt the *Germans*: a woman that much hindred their affairs in that Countrey. Thus had the *Gothes* their *Amalaſunta*: the *Aſſyrians* their *Semiramis*, the *Scythians* their *Tomyris*, the *Romans* their *Fulvia*: all brave Captains, and ſuch as poſterity hath admired without envie. To come home unto our ſelves, the writers of the *Romans* mention the revolt of *Britain*, and the ſlaughter of 70000 *Roman* Confederates un-

under the conduct of *Voaditia*: and she in the beginning of her incouragements to the action, telleth the people this, *Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare.* Of all these heroical Ladies, I read no accusation of witchcraft: invasive courage and a sense of injury, being the armes they sought withall; neither can I see why the *Romans* should exceed us in modesty; or that we need envie unto the *French* this one female warriour, when it is a fortune which hath befaln most Nations. As for her atchievements, they are not so much beyond a common being: but that they may be imputed to natural means: for had she been a Witch, it is likely she would have prevented the disgrace which her valour suffered, in the ditches of *Paris*, though she could not avoid those of *Compeigne*, who took her prisoner: the Devill at such an exigent only being accustomed to forsake those which he hath entangled. So that she enjoyed not such a perpetuity of felicity, as to entitle her to the Devils assistance, she being sometimes conqueror, sometimes overthrown, and at last imprisoned. *Communia fortunæ ludibria*, the ordinary sports of fortune. Her actions before her march to *Orleans*, have somewhat in them of cunning, and perhaps of imposture, as the vision which she reported to have incited her to these attempts, her finding out of the King disguised in the habit of a countrey man; and her appointing to her self an old Sword hanging in St. *Katharines* Church in *Tours*. The *French* were at this time meerly cresť faln: not to be raised but by miracle. This therefore is invented, and so that which of all the rest must prove her a sorceresse, will only prove her an impostor. *Gerrard*, *Seigneur du Hailan*, one of the best writers of *France*, is of opinion that all that plot of her coming to the King, was contriv'd by three Lords of the Court; to hearten the people; as if God now miraculously intended the restauration of the Kingdome. Add to this, that she never commanded in any battail, without the assistance of the best Captains of the *French* Nation: and amongst whom was the Bastard of *Orleans*, who is thought to have put this device into her head. The Lord of *Bellay* in his discourse of *arte militarie*, proceedeth further, and maketh her a man: only thus habited, *pour faire revenir le courage aux Francois*: which, had

had it been ſo, would have been diſcovered at the time of her burning. Others of the later *French* writers (for thoſe of the former age ſavour too much of the Legend) make her to be a luſty Laſſe of *Lorrein*, trained up by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and the Seigneur of *Baudricourte*; only for this ſervice. And that ſhe might carry with her the reputation of a Propheteſſe, and an Ambaſſadreſſe from heaven; admit this, and farewell witchcraft. And for the ſentence of her condemnation, and the confirmation of it by the Divines and Univerſity of *Paris*; it is with me of no moment: being compoſed only to humour the Victor. If this could ſway me, I had more reaſon to incline to the other party; for when *Charles* had ſetled his eſtate, the ſame men, who had condemned her of ſorcery, abſolved her: and there was alſo added in defence of her innocency, a Decree from the Court of *Rome*. *Joane* then with me ſhall inherit the title of *La puciłle d' Orleans*: with me ſhe ſhall be ranked amongſt the famous Captains of her times; and be placed in the ſame throne, equall with the valianteſt of all her ſexe, in time before her. Let thoſe whom partiality hath wreſted aſide from the path of truth, proclaim her for a ſorcereſſe, for my part I will not flatter my beſt fortunes of my Countrey to the prejudice of a truth: neither will I ever be enduced to think of this female warrier, otherwiſe then of a noble Captain.

——*Audetq; viris concurrere virgo.*

Penthesilea *did it. Why not ſhe*
Without the ſtain of ſpels and ſorcerie?
Why ſhould thoſe acts in her be counted ſin,
Which in the other have commended bin?

Nor is it fit that France *ſhould be deni'd*
This female ſouldier, ſince all Realms beſide,
Have had the honour of one: and relate
How much that ſexe hath re-enforc'd the ſtate
Of their decaying ſtrengths. Let Scythia *ſpare*
To ſpeak of Tomyris, *th'* Aſſyrians *care*

Shall

Shall be no more to hear the deeds recited
Of Ninus *wife. Nor are the* Dutch *delighted*
To hear their Valeda *extoll'd: the name*
Of this French *warrier hath eclips'd their fame:*
And silenc'd their atchievements. Let the praise,
That's due to vertue, wait upon her. Raise
An obelisque unto her, you of Gaule,
And let her acts live in the mouthes of all
Speak boldly of her, and of her alone,
That never Lady was as good as Jone.

She died a virgin: 'twas because the earth
Held not a man, whose vertues, or whose birth
Might merit such a blessing. But above,
The gods provided her a fitting love:
And gave her to St. Denis, *shee with him*
Protects the Lillies and their Diadem.
You then about whose armies shee doth watch,
Give her the honour due unto her match.
And when in field your standards you advance,
Cry loud, St. Denis *and St.* Jone *for* France.

CHAP. III.

The ſtudy of the Civill Law revived in Europe. *The dead time of learning. The Schools of Law in* Orleans. *The œconomie of them. The Chancellour of* Oxford *antiently appointed by the Dioceſan. Their* methode *here, and prodigality in beſtowing degrees.* Orleans *a great conflux of ſtrangers. The language there. The Corporation of* Germans *there. Their houſe and priviledges.* Dutch *and* Latine. *The difference between an Academie and an Univerſity.*

I Have now done with the Town and City of *Orleans*, and am come unto the Univerſity or Schools of Law which are in it; this being one of the firſt places in which the ſtudy of the Civill Lawes was revived in *Europe*. For immediately after the death of *Juſtinian*, who out of no leſſe then 2000 volumes of law-writers had collected that bodie of the Imperiall Lawes, which we now call the *Digeſts*, or the *Pandects*: the ſtudy of them grew neglected in theſe Weſtern parts, nor did any for a long time profeſſe or read them; the reaſon was, becauſe *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *England* and *Germany*, having received new Lords over them; as the *Franks*, *Lombards*, *Saxons*, *Saracens*, and others were fain to ſubmit themſelves to their Laws. It happened afterwards that *Lotharius Saxo* the Emperour, who began his reign, *anno* 1126. (being 560 years after the death of *Juſtinian*) having taken the City of *Melphy* in *Naples*, found there an old copy of the *Pandects*. This he gave to the *Piſans* his confederates, as a moſt reverend relick of Learning and Antiquity; whence it is called

Littera Piſana. Moreover he founded the Univerſity of *Bologne* or *Bononia*, ordering the Civill Law to be profeſt there: one *Wirner* being the firſt Profeſſor; upon whoſe advice the ſaid Emperor ordained that *Bononia* ſhould be *Legum & juris Schola una & ſola*: and here was the firſt time and place of that ſtudy in the Weſtern Empire. But it was not the fate only of the Civill Laws, to be thus neglected. All other parts of learning, both Arts and languages, were in the ſame deſperate eſtates; the Poets exclamation of *O ſæclum inſipiens & infacetum*, never being ſo applyable as in thoſe times. For it is with the knowledge of good letters, as it was with the effects of nature; they have times of groweth alike, of perfection and of death. Like the ſea, it hath its ebbs as well as its flouds; and like the earth, it hath its Winter, wherein the ſeeds of it are deaded and bound up, as well as a Spring wherein it reflouriſheth. Thus the learning of the *Greeks* lay forgotten, and loſt in *Europe* for 700 years, even untill *Emanuel Chryſolaras* taught it at *Venice*, being driven out of his Countrey by the *Turks*. Thus the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* lay hidden in the moath of duſt and libraries, *Et nominabatur potius quod legebatur*, as *Ludovicus Vives* obſerveth in his notes upon St. *Auſtine*, untill the time of *Alexander Aphrodiſeus*. And thus alſo lay the elegancies of the *Roman* tongue obſcured, till that *Eraſmus*, *More* and *Reuchlyn*, in the ſeverall Kingdomes of *Germany*, *England*, and *France*, endeavoured the reſtauration of it.

But to return to the Civill Law. After the foundation of the Univerſity of *Bologne*, it pleaſed *Philip le bel* King of *France* to found another here at *Orleans*, for the ſame purpoſe, *anno* 1312. which was the firſt School of that profeſſion on this ſide the mountains. This is evident by the Bull of *Clement* V. dated at *Lyons* in the year 1367. where he giveth it this title, *Fructiferum univerſitatis Aurelianenſis intra cætera citramontana ſtudia, prius ſolennius, antiquius, tam civilis, quam Canoniçæ facultatis ſtudium.* At the firſt there were inſtituted eight Profeſſors, now they are reduced to four only; the reaſon of this decreaſe, being the increaſe of Univerſities. The place in which they read their

their Lectures, is called *Les grand eſcoles*, and part of the City, *La Univerſite*; neither of which attributes it can any way remit. *Colledge* they have none, either to lodge the ſtudents, or entertain the Profeſſors, the former ſojourning in divers places of the Town, theſe laſt in their ſeverall houſes. As for their place of reading which they call *Les grans eſcoles*, it is only an old barn converted into a School, by the addition of five ranks of formes, and a pew in the middle, you never ſaw a thing ſo mock its own name: *Lucus* not being more properly called ſo *a non lucendo*, then this ruinous houſe is a great School, becauſe it is little. The preſent profeſſors are Mr. *Furner*, the *Rector* at my being there; Mr. *Tuillerie*, and Mr. *Grand*. The fourth of them named Mr. *Augrand*, was newly dead, and his place like a dead pay among Souldiers not ſupplyed; in which eſtate was the function of Mr. *Brodee*, whoſe office it was to read the Book of Inſtitutions, unto ſuch as come newly to the Town. They read each of them an hour, in their turns, every morning in the week, unleſſe Holydayes and Thurſdayes, their hearers taking their Lectures in their tables. Their principall office is that of the *Rector*, which every three months deſcends down unto the next, ſo that once in a year, every one of the profeſſors hath his turn of being *Rector*. The next in dignity unto him is the *Chancellour*, whoſe office is during life, and in whoſe name all degrees are given, and the Letters Authenticall, as they term them, granted. The preſent *Chancellour* is named Mr. *Bouchier* Dr. of Divinity and of both the Laws, and *Prebend* alſo of St. *Croix*; his place is in the gift of the Biſhop of *Orleans*; and ſo are the *Chancellors* places in all *France* at the beſtowing of the *Dioceſan*. Antiently it was thus alſo with us at *Oxford*; the Biſhop of *Lincolne* nominating to us our *Chancellors*, till the year 1370. *William* of *Remington* being the firſt *Chancellour* elected by the Univerſity.

In the beſtowing of their degrees here, they are very liberall, and deny no man that is able to pay his fees. *Legem ponere* is with them more powerfull then *legem dicere*, and he that hath but his gold ready, ſhall have a ſooner diſpatch, then the beſt Scholar upon ticket.

Ipſe licet venias Muſis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.

It is the money wch diſputeth beſt with them, τὰ χρήματα ὁ ἀνὴρ, *money makes the man*; ſaid the *Greek*, and *Engliſh* proverb. The exerciſe which is to be performed, before the degree taken, is very little, and as trivially performed. When you have choſen the Law which you mean to defend, they conduct you into an old ruinous chamber. They call it their Library; for my part, I ſhould have thought it to have been the warehouſe of ſome ſecond hand Bookſeller. Thoſe few books which were there, were as old as Printing; and could hardly make amongſt them one cover, to reſiſt the violence of a rat. They ſtood not up endlong, but lay one upon the other, and were joyned together with cobwebs in ſtead of ſtrings. He that would ever gueſſe them to have been looked into ſince the long reign of ignorance, might juſtly have condemned his own charity; for my part, I was prone to believe that the three laſt centuries of years had never ſeen the inſide of them; or that the poor paper had been troubled with the diſeaſe called *Noli me tangere*. In this unluckie roome do they hold their diſputations, unleſſe they be ſolemn and full of expectation, and after two or three arguments urged, commend the ſufficiency of the *Reſpondent*, and pronounce him worthy of his degree. That done, they cauſe his Authenticall Letters to be ſealed; and in them they tell the Reader with what diligence and pains they ſifted the *Candidati*; that it is neceſſary to the Commonwealth of learning, that induſtry ſhould be honoured; and that on that ground they have thought it fitting *poſt anguſtias ſolamen, poſt vigilias requietem, poſt dolorem gaudia*, (for ſo as I remember goeth the form) *to recompenſe the labours of N.N. with the degree of Doctor or Licentiate*; with a great deal of the like formall foolery, *Et ad hunc modum fiunt Doctores*.

From the ſtudy of the Law, proceed we unto that of the Language, which is ſaid to be better ſpoken here, then in any part of *France*, and certainly the people hereof ſpeak it more

more distinctly then the rest; I cannot say more elegantly. Yet partly for this reason, partly because of the study of the Law, and partly because of the sweetnesse of the aire; the Town is never without abundance of strangers of all Nations which are in correspondency with the *French*. But in the greatest measure it is repleniſhed with those of *Germany*, who have here a corporation, and indeed do make amongst themselves a better University, then the University. This Corporation consisteth of a *Procurator*, a *Questor*, an *Assessor*, two *Bibliothecarii*, & 12 *Counsellors*. They have all of them their distinct jurisdiction, and are solemnly elected by the rest of the company every third moneth. The *Consulship* of *Rome* was never so welcome to *Cicero*, as the office of *Procurator* is to a *Dutch* Gentleman; he for the time of his command ordering the affaires of all his Nation; and to say truth, being much respected by those of the Town. It is his office to admit of the young comers, to receive the moneys due at their admission, and to receive an account of the dispending of it of the *Questor* at the expiring of his charge. The office of *Assessor* is like that of a Clerk of the Councels, and the Secretary mixt. For he registreth the Acts of their Councels, writeth Letters in the name of the House to each of the *French* Kings, at their new coming to the Crown; and if any prime or extraordinary Ambassador cometh to the Town, he entertaineth him with a speach. The *Bibliothecarii* looke to the Libtary, in which they are bound to remain three hours in a day in their severall turns. A prety room it is, very plentifully furniſhed with choise books, and that at small charge; for it is here the custome, that every one of the Nation at his departure, must leave with them one book, of what kind or price it best pleaseth him. Besides, each of the officers at the resigning up of his charge, giveth unto the new *Questor* a piece of gold about the value of a Pistolet, to be expended according as the necessitie of the state requires; which most an end is bestowed upon the increase of their Library.

Next unto this *cité des Lettres* (as one of the *French* writers calleth *Paris*) is their Councell house; an handsome square Chamber, and well furniſhed. In this they hold their Con-

ſultations, and in this preſerve their Records and Priviledges, the keeping of the one, and ſummoning the other, being meerly in the hands of the *Procurator*. About the Table they have five chairs for the five principall Officers; thoſe of the Councell ſitting round the Chamber on ſtools; the armes of the Empire being placed directly over every of the ſeats. If it happen that any of them die there, they all accompany him to his grave, in a manner mixt ſo orderly of grief and ſtate, that you would think the obſequies of ſome great Potentate were ſolemnized. And to ſay truth of them, they are a hearty and a loving Nation, not to one another only, but to ſtrangers, and eſpecially to us of *England*. Only I would wiſh that in their ſpeech and complement, they would not uſe the *Latine* tongue, or elſe ſpeak it more congruouſly. You ſhall hardly finde a man amongſt them, which cannot make a ſhift to expreſſe himſelf in that language; nor one amongſt a hundred that can do it Latinly. *Galleriam*, *Compagniam*, *Gardinum*, and the like, are as uſuall in their common diſcourſe, as to drink at three of the clock; and as familiar as their ſleep. Had they bent their ſtudies that way, I perſwade my ſelf they would have been excellent good at the Common Lawes; their tongues ſo naturally falling upon thoſe words which are neceſſary to a Declaration. But amongſt the reſt, I took notice of one Mr. *Gebour*, a man of that various mixture of words, that you would have thought his tongue to have been a very *Amſterdam* of languages. *Cras main σὺν θεῷ nous irons ad magnam Galleriam*, was one of his moſt remarkable ſpeeches, when we were at *Paris*; but here at *Orleans* we had them of him thick and threefold. If ever he ſhould chance to die in a ſtrange place where his Countrey could not be known, but by his tongue, it could not poſſible be, but that more Nations would ſtrive for him, then ever did for *Homer*. I had before read of the confuſion of Babel; in him I came acquainted with it, yet this uſe might be made of him and his hotch-pot of languages, that a good Chymicall Phyſitian would make an excellent medicine of it againſt the ſtone. In a word, to go no more upon the particular, I never knew a people that ſpake more words, and leſſe Latine.

Of

Of theſee ingredients is the Univerſity of *Orleans*, compounded, if at the leaſt it be lawfull to call it an Univerſity, as I think it be not. The name of *Academie* would beſeem it better, *and God grant* (as *Sanco Panco* ſaid of his wife) *it be able to diſcharge that calling*. I know that thoſe names are indifferently uſed, but not properly. For an *Academie* (the name is derived from a place neer *Athens*, called *Academia*, where *Plato* firſt taught Philoſophy) in its ſtrict and proper ſenſe, is ſuch a ſtudy, where ſome one or two Arts are profeſſed; as Law at *Orleans* and *Bononia*, and Phyſick at *Montpelier* and *Padua*; an Univerſity is ſo called, *Quod Univerſæ ibi traduntur diſciplinæ*, as the name importeth; where learning is profeſſed in the generality, and in the whole Ἐγκυκλοπαιδία of it; the firſt the *Germans* call *Schola illuſtris*; the latter *Generale ſtudium*; very oppoſite titles, and in which there is little of a *German*.

CHAR.

Chap. IV.

Orleans *not an Universsity till the coming of the Jesuites. Their Colledge there by whom built. The Jesuites no singers. Their laudable and exact method of teaching. Their policies in it. Received not without great difficulty into* Paris. *Their houses in that Universsity. Their strictness unto the rules of their order. Much maliced by the other Priests and Fryers. Why not sent into* England *with the Queen; and of what order they were that came with her. Our returne to* Paris.

THe difference between an Universsity and an Academie standing thus, Those which lived in our Fathers dayes could hardly have called *Orleans* an Universsity; a School of Law being the name most fit for it. At this time since the coming of the Jesuites, that appellation may not misbecome it, they having brought with them those parts of learning, which before were wanting in it: but this hath not been of any long standing, their Colledge being not yet fully finished. By an inscription over the gate, it seemeth to be the work of Mr. *Gagliery*, one of the Advocates in the Parliament of *Paris*, a man of large practise, and by consequence, of great possessions; and who having no childe but this Colledge, is said to intend the fastning of his estate upon it. In this house do those of this order apply themselves to the study of good Letters, in the pursuit whereof, as the rest of this fraternity are, they are good proficients, and much exceed all other sorts of Fryers, as having better teachers and more

more leasure to learn. That time which the other spent at high Masses, and at their Canonicall hours, these men bestowed upon their books: they being exempted from these duties by their order. Upon this ground they trouble not their heads with the crotchets of Musick, nor spend their moneths upon the chanting out of their services. They have other matters to imploy their brains upon, such as are the ruin of Kingdoms, and desolation of Countries. It was the saying of *Themistocles*, being requested to play a lesson on the Lute, *That he could not fidle, but he could tell how to make a little Town a great City.* The like we may say of the Jesuites; They are no great singers, but are well skilled in making little Cities great, and great ones little. And certain it is, that they are so far from any ability or desire this way, that upon any of their solemn Festivals, when their Statutes require musick, they are faine to hire the singing men of the next *Cathedrall*. As here upon the feast of their Patron St. *Ignatius*, being the 21 of *July*, they were compelled to make use of the voyces of the Church of St. *Croix*.

To this advantage of leasure is added the exact method of their teaching, which is indeed so excellent, that the Protestants themselves in some places send their sons to their Schools; upon desire to have them prove exquisite in those arts they teach. To them resort the children of the rich as well as of the poor, and that in such abundance, that wheresoever they settle, other houses become in a manner desolate, or frequented only by those of the more heavie and phlegmatick constitutions. Into their Schooles when they have received them, they place them in that forum or Classis into wch they are best fitted to enter. Of these Classes, the lowest is for Grammar: the second for Composition, or the making of Theames, as we call it: the third for Poetry: the fourth for Oratory: the fifth for Greek Grammar and compositions: the sixt for the Poesie and Rhetorick of that language: the seventh for Logick: and the eight and last for Philosophy. In each of these Schooles there is a severall Reader or Institutor, who only mindeth that art, and the perfection of it, which for that year he

teacheth. That year ended, he removeth both himself and Scholars with him, into the Classis or Schooles next beyond him, till he hath brought them through the whole studies of humanity. In this last forme, which is that of Philosophy, he continueth two years, which once expired, his Scholars are made perfect in the University of learning, and themselves manumitted from their labours, and permitted their private studies. Nor do they only teach their Scholars an exactnesse in those several parts of Learning which they handle, but they also endevour to breed in them an obstinacy of mind, and a sturdy eagernesse of spirit to make them thereby hot prosecutors of their own opinions, and impatient of any contrary consideration. This is it which maketh all those of their education, to affect victory in all the controversies of wit or knowledge, with such a violence, that even in their very Grammaticall disputations, you shall find little boyes maintaine arguments with such a fierie impatience, that you would think it above the nature of their years. And all this they performe freely and for nothing; the poor Paisants son being by them equally instructed, with that of the Noblest.

By this means they get unto their Society, great honour, and great strength; honour in furnishing their Schooles with so many persons of excellent quality or Nobility, of whom afterwards they make their best advantages for their strength also. As for those of the poorer sort, they have also their ends upon them; for by this free and liberall education of their children, the common people do infinitely affect them: besides that, out of that ranke of their Scholars they assume such into their fraternity, whom they finde to be of a rare wit and excellent spirit, or any other way fitted for their profession. Thus do they make their own purposes out of all conditions, and refuse no fish which either they can draw into their nets, or which will offer it self unto them. *Si locuples quis est, avari sunt, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit, soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt*: *Galgacus* a *British* Captain, spake it of the Souldiers of the *Romans* Empire: we may as justly verifie it of these Souldiers of the *Romish* Church, they being the men whom neither

neither the *Weſt* nor *Eaſt-Indies* can ſatisfie; and who with a like fervencie deſire the education of the needy and the wealthy. Moreover, by this method of teaching they do not only ſtrengthen themſelves in the affections of men a broad, but alſo fortifie themſelves within their own wals at home; for by this means, there is not one of their ſociety, who hath not only perfectly concocted in his head the whole Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία of knowledge, but hath gained unto himſelf the true art of ſpeaking, and a readineſſe of expreſſing what he knoweth; without the leaſt demurre or hæſitancie: the greateſt happineſſe of a Scholar. To conclude then and ſay no more of them, and their rare abilities (for *virtus & in hoſte probatur*) it is thought by men of wiſdome and judgement, that the planting of a Colledge of Jeſuites in any place, is the onely ſure way to reeſtabliſh that Religion which they profeſſe, and in time to eate out the contrary.

This notwithſtanding, they were at the firſt inſtitution of them mightily oppoſed, and no where more violently then in the Univerſity of *Paris*. An Univerſity that ſtandeth much upon its liberty and priviledges; to which this order was imagined to be an hindrance: it being lawfull for them to take any degree in their own houſes, without reference to any publick exerciſe or examination. In the year 1554. at what time they firſt began to ſet foot in *France*, the Colledge of the *Sorboniſts* made a long decree againſt them, in the end whereof are theſe words, and they are worth the reading, *Videtur hæc ſocietas in negotio fidei periculoſa, pacis Eccleſiæ perturbativa, monaſticæ religionis everſiva & magis ad deſtructionem, quam ad ædificationem*; a cenſure too full of vineger and bitterneſſe. Afterwards in the year 1564. they preferred a Petition to the Univerſity, that the Colledge which the Biſhop of *Clermont* had built for them, might be incorporated into the Univerſity, and enjoy the immunities of it. Upon the Univerſities deniall of their deſire, there aroſe a ſuit between them and the Univerſity in the high Court of Parliament; *Peter Verſoris* pleading for the Jeſuits, and *Stephen Paſquier* for the other party.

In the end they were admitted, though upon terms of wondrous ſtrictneſſe. *Anno* 1594. *John Caſtell* a novice of this order, having wounded King *Henry* IV. in the mouth, occaſioned the baniſhment of this Society out of all *France*, into which they were not again received till the year 1604. and then alſo upon limitations more ſtrict then ever. Into *Paris* they were not readmitted untill *anno* 1606. neither had the liberty of reading Lectures and inſtructing the youth confirmed unto them till *anno* 1611. which alſo was compaſſed not without great trouble and vexation.

Per varios caſus & tot diſcrimina rerum,
As *Aeneas* and his companions came into *Latium.*

In this Univerſity they have at this inſtant three houſes, one of the Novices, a ſecond of Inſtitutors, which they call the Colledge; and a third of profeſſed Jeſuites, which they ſtyle their Monaſtery, or the profeſſed houſe of St. *Lewis*. In their houſe of Novices they train up all thoſe whom they have culled out of their Schooles to be of their order, and therein initiate them in the arts of Jeſuitiſm, and their myſteries of iniquity. They there teach them not Grammaticall conſtructions or compoſition, but inſtruct them in the paths of virtue, courage and obedience, according to ſuch examples as their Authors afford them. This they ſay of themſelves and their friends for them. But he that made the funerall Oration for *Henry* IV. *anno* 1610. reporteth it otherwiſe, *Latini ſermonis obtentu* (ſaith he) *impuriſſime Gallicæ juventutis mores ingenuos fœdant. Bonarum litterarum prætextu, peſſimas edocent artes. Dum ingenia excolunt, animas perdunt*, &c. In their Colledge they have the ſame method of teaching which the others of their company uſe in *Orleans*. A Colledge firſt given unto them by Mr. *William Pratt* Biſhop of *Clermount*, whoſe houſe it was; but much beautifyed by themſelves after his deceaſe. For with the mony which he gave unto them by his will, which amounted (as it was thought) to

60000

60000 crowns; they added to it the Court called *De Langres*, in St. *James ſtreet, anno* 1582. Their Monaſtery or houſe of profeſſion is that unto which they retire themſelves after they have diſcharged their duties in the Colledge, by reading and ſtudying publickly in their ſeverall Claſſes. When they are here, their ſtudies both for time and quality is *ad placitum*; though generally their only ſtudie in it is Policy, and the advantage of their cauſe. And indeed out of this *Trojan* horſe it is, that thoſe firebrands and incendiaries are let out to diſturb and ſet in combuſtion the affaires of Chriſtendom, out of this forge come all thoſe ſtratagems and tricks of *Machiavillianiſm*, which tend to the ruine of the Proteſtants, and the deſolation of their Countries. I ſpeak not this of their houſe of Profeſſion here in *Paris*, either only or principally; whereſoever they ſettle, they have a houſe of this nature, out of which they iſſue to overthrow the Goſpell. Being ſent once by their Superiors, a neceſſity is layed upon them of obedience, be the imployment never ſo dangerous. And certainly this Nation doth moſt ſtrictly obey the rules of their order, of any whatſoever, not excepting the *Capouchins* nor the *Carthuſians* This I am witneſſe to, that whereas the Divinity *Lecture* is to end at the tilling of a Bell; one of the Society in the Colledge of *Clermont*, reading about the fall of the Angels, ended his Lecture with theſe words, *Denique in quibuſcunque*; for then was the warning given, and he durſt not ſo far treſpaſſe upon his rule, as to ſpeak out his ſentence.

But it is not the fate of theſe Jeſuits to have great perſons only, and Univerſities only to oppoſe their fortunes: they have alſo the moſt accompliſht malice, that either the ſecular Prieſts or Fryers amongſt whom they live, can faſten upon them. Some envie them for the greatneſſe of their poſſeſſions, ſome becauſe of the excellency of their learning; ſome hate them for their power, ſome for the ſhrewdneſſe of their brains; all together making good that ſaying of *Paterculus*, that *Semper eminentis fortunæ comes eſt invidia.* True indeed it is, that the Jeſuits have in a manner deſerved all this clamor and ſtomach by their own inſolencies; for they have not only drawn into their own hands all the principall

affairs of Court and ſtate; but upon occaſions caſt all the ſcorn and contempt they can, upon thoſe of the other Orders. The Janizaries of the *Turke* never more neglectfully ſpeak of the *Aſapi*, then thoſe doe of the reſt of the Clergy. A great crime in thoſe men, who deſire to be accounted ſuch excellent Maſters of their own affections. Neither is the affection born to them abroad, greater then that at home; amongſt thoſe I mean of the oppoſite party; who being ſo often troubled and crumped by them, have little cauſe to afford them a liking, and much leſſe a welcome. Upon this reaſon they were not ſent into *England* with the Queen, although at firſt they were deſtinate to that ſervice. It was well known how odious that name was amongſt us, and what little countenance the Court or Countrey would have afforded them. They therefore who had the Governance of that buſineſſe, ſent hither in their places the *Oratorians*, or the *Fratres congregationis Oratorii*; a race of men never as yet offenſive to the *Engliſh*, further then the generall defence of the *Romiſh* cauſe, and ſo leſſe ſubject to envie and exception. They were firſt inſtituted by *Philip Nerius*, not long after the Jeſuits, and advanced and dignified by *Pope Sixtus* V. principally to this end, that by their inceſſant Sermons to the people, of the lives of Saints, and other Eccleſiaſticall Antiquities, they might get a new reputation; and ſo divert a little the torrent of the peoples affections from the Jeſuites. *Baronius*, that great and excellent Hiſtorian, and *Bozius* that deadly enemie to the Soveraignity of Princes, were of the firſt foundation of this Order.

I have now done with *Orleans* and the Jeſuits, and muſt prepare for my return to *Paris*. Which journey I begun the 23 of *July*, and ended the day following. We went back the ſame way that we came, though we were not ſo fortunate as to enjoy the ſame company we came in, for in ſtead of the good and acceptable ſociety of one of the *French* Nobles, ſome Gentlemen of *Germany*, and two Fryers of the Order of St. *Auſtin*; we had the perpetuall vexation of four tradeſmen of *Paris*, two *filles de joye*, and an old woman; the Artizans ſo ſlovenly attired

red and greaſie in their apparell, that a moſt modeſt apprehenſion could have conceived no better of them, then that they had been newly raked out of the ſcullery. One of them by an Inkehorne that hung at his girdle, would have made us believe that he had been a *Notarie*; but by the thread of his diſcourſe, we found out that he was a *Sumner*: ſo full of ribaldrie was it, and ſo rankly did it ſavour of the *French* bawdie-courts. The reſt of them talked according to their skill, concerning the price of commodities; and who was the moſt likely man of all the City, to be made one of the next years *Eſchevins*. Of the two wenches, one ſo extreamly impudent, that even any immodeſt ear would have abhorred her language, and of ſuch a ſhameleſſe deportment, that her very behaviour would have frighted luſt out of the moſt incontinent man living. Since I firſt knew mankinde and the world, I never obſerved ſo much impudence in the generall, as I did then in her particular, and I hope ſhall never be ſo miſerable, as to ſuffer two dayes more the torment and hell of her converſation. In a word, ſhe was a wench born to ſhame all the Fryers with whom ſhe had traficked, for ſhe would not be *caſta*, and could not be *cauta*, and ſo I leave her; a creature extreamly bold, becauſe extreamly faulty. And yet having no good property to redeem both theſe, and other unlovely qualities; but (as Sir *Philip Sydney* ſaid of the Strumpet *Baccha* in the *Arcadia*) a little counterfeit beauty diſgraced with wandring eyes, and unwayed ſpeeches. The other of the younger females (for as yet I am doubtfull whether I may call any of them women) was of the ſame profeſſion alſo, but not half ſo rampant as her companion.

Hæc habitu caſto cum non ſit, caſta videtur,

as *Auſonius* giveth it one of the two wanton ſiſters. By her carriage a charitable ſtranger would have thought her honeſt; and to that favourable opinion had my ſelf been inclinable, if a *French Monſieur* had not given me her character

racter at *Orleans*: beſides there was an odd twinkling of her eye, which ſpoyled the compoſedneſſe of her countenance; otherwiſe ſhe might have paſſed for currant. So that I may ſafely ſay of her, in reſpect of her fellow Harlot, what *Tacitus* doth of *Pompey*, in reference to *Cæſar*, *viz. Secretior Pompeius, Cæſare non melior.* They were both equally guilty of the ſin; though this laſt had the more cunning to diſſemble it, and avoid the infamie and cenſure due unto it. And ſo I come to the old woman, which was the laſt of our goodly companions. A woman ſo old, that I am not at this day fully reſolved whether ſhe were ever young or no. 'Twas well I had read the Scriptures, otherwiſe I might have been very prone to have thought her one of the firſt pieces of the creation, and that by ſome miſchance or other, ſhe had eſcaped the flood; her face was for all the world like unto that of *Sibylla Erythræa* in an old print, or that of *Solomons* two harlots in the painted cloth; you could not at the leaſt but have imagined her one of the Relicks of the firſt age after the building of *Babel*; for her very complexion was a confuſion more dreadfull then that of languages. As yet I am uncertain whether the Poem of our arch-poet *Spencer*, entituled, *The Ruines of time*, was not purpoſely intended on her; ſure I am it is very applyable in the title. But I might have ſaved all this labour: *Ovid* in his deſcription of *Fames*, hath moſt exactly given us her portraicture; and out of him, and the eight book of his *Metamorphoſis*, you may take this view of her.

Nullus erat crinis, cava lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana ſitu, ſcabri rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis, per quam ſpectari viſcera poſſent;
Ventris erat pro ventre locus: pendere putares
Pectus, et a ſpinæ tantummodo crate teneri.

Unhair'd, pale-fac'd, her eyes ſunk in her head,
Lips hoary-white, and teeth moſt ruſtie-red,

Through

Through her courſe skin, her guts you might eſpie,
In what eſtate and poſture they did lie.
Belly ſhe had none, only there was ſeen
The place whereas her belly ſhould have been.
And with her hips her body did agree,
As if 'twas faſtned by Geometrie.

But of this our companion, as alſo of the reſt of the Coachfull, Sunday-night, and our arrivall at *Paris*, hath at the laſt delivered us. A bleſſing for which I can never be ſufficiently thankfull; and thus

———*Dedit Deus his quoque finem.*

The End of the Third Book.

A SURVEY OF THE STATE of FRANCE.

PICARDIE:

OR,

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Our return towards England. *More of the* Hugonots *hate unto Croſſes. The town of* Luzarch, *and St.* Loupæ. *The Country of* Picardie *and people. The* Picts *of* Britain *not of this Country. Mr.* Lee Dignicoes *Governor of* Picardie. *The office of Conſtable what it is in* France. *By whom the place ſupplyed in* England. *The marble table in* France, *and cauſes there handled.* Clermount, *and the Caſtle there. The war raiſed up by the Princes againſt* D' Ancre. *What his deſignes might tend to,* &c.

July the 27. having diſpatched that buſineſſe which brought us into *France*, and ſurveyed as much of the Countrey, as that opportunity would permit, we began our journey towards *England* in a Coach of *Amiens*.

Better

Better accompaned we were then when we came from *Orleans*, for here we had Gentlemen of the choiceſt faſhion, very ingenious, and in my opinion of finer condition then any I had met withall in all my acquaintance with that Nation. We had no vexation with us in the ſhape of a *French* woman, which appeared unto me ſomewhat miraculous, to torment our ears with her diſcourſe, or puniſh our eyes with her complexion. Thus aſſociated we began to jog towards St. *Loup*, where that night we were to be lodged. The Countrey ſuch as already I have deſcribed it in the Iſle of *France*, ſave that beyond St. *Denis* it began to be ſomewhat more hilly. By the way I obſerved thoſe little croſſets erected in the memorie of St. *Denis*, as being vainly ſuppoſed to be his reſting places, when he ran from *Mont-martre* with his head in his hand, which the zealous madneſſe of the *Hugonots* had thrown down, and were now reedified by King *Lewis*. It could not but call to mind the hate of that Nation unto that harmeleſſe monument of Chriſts ſufferings, the Croſſe; which is grown it ſeemeth ſo exorbitant, that the Papiſts make uſe of it to diſcover an *Hugonot*. I remember as I paſſed by water from *Amiens* to *Abbeville*, we met in the boat with a levie of *French* Gentlewomen; to one of them, with that *French* as I had, I applyed my ſelf, and ſhe perceiving me to be *Engliſh*, queſtioned my Religion. I anſwered (as I ſafely might) that I was a *Catholick*: and ſhe for her better ſatisfaction proffered me the little croſſe which was on the top of her beads to kiſſe, (and rather ſhould I deſire to kiſſe it then many of their lips) whereupon the reſt of the company gave of me this verdit, that I was *Un urai Chriſtien, & ne point un Hugonot*. But to proceed in our journall, The ſame day we parted from *Paris*, we paſſed through the Town of *Luzarch*, and came to that of St. *Loup*. The firſt famous only in its owner, which is the Count of *Soiſſons*. The ſecond in an Abbey there ſituate built in memory of St. *Lupus* Biſhop of *Trios* in *Champagne*. Theſe Townes paſſed, we were entred into *Picardie*.

Picardie is divided into the higher, which containeth the Countries of *Calice* and *Boulogne*, with the Town *Monſtrevill*: and the lower, in which are the goodly Cities of *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, and many other places of principall note. The higher which is the leſſer, and more Northern part is bounded North and Weſt with the *Engliſh* Ocean; and on the Eaſt with *Flanders* and *Artoys*. The lower, which is the larger, the richer and the more Southern, hath on the Eaſt the little Country of *Veromandys*; on the Weſt *Normandy*; and on the South the Countrey of *Champagne*. In length it comprehendeth all the 51 degree of Latitude, and three parts of the 50; extending from *Calice* in the North, to *Clermont* in the South. In breadth it is of a great inequality For the higher *Picardie* is like *Linea* amongſt the *Logitians*, which they deſine to be *longitudo ſine latitudine*, it being indeed nothing in a manner, but a meer border. The lower is of a larger breadth, and containeth in it the whole 24 degree of longitude, and a fourth part of the 23; ſo that by the proportion of degrees, this Province is 105 miles long, and 25 broad.

Concerning the name of *Picardie*, it is a difficulty beyond my reading and my conjecture. All I can do is to overthrow the leſſe probable opinions of other writers, and make my ſelf ſubject to that ſcoffe which *Lactantius* beſtoweth on *Ariſtotle*, *Rectè hic ſuſtulit aliorum diſciplinas, ſed non rectè fundavit ſuam*. Some then derive it from *Piquon*, one forſooth of *Alexander* the greats Captains, whom they fain to have built *Amiens* and *Piquigni*; an abſurdity not to be honoured with a confutation: ſome from the Town of *Piquigni* it ſelf, of which mind is *Mercator*; but that Town never was of ſuch note as to name a Province: others derive it from *Picardus* a fanaticall Heretick of theſe parts, about the year 1300 and after; but the appellation is far older then the man: others fetch it from the *Picts* of *Britain*, whom they would have to flie hither after the diſcomfiture of their Empire and Nation by the *Scots*; a tranſmigration of which all Hiſtories are ſilent: this being the verdict of the beſt Antiquary ever was nurſed up in *Britain*, *Picti itaque funeſtiſſimo prælio debellati, aut penitus fuerunt extincti, aut paulatim in Scotorum nomen & nationem conceſſerint.*

Laſtly,

Laſtly, ſome others derive the name from *Pique*, which ſignifieth a Lance or a Pike, the inventors of which warlike weapon, the fathers of this device would fain make them. In like manner ſome of *Germany* have laboured to prove that the *Saxons* had that name given them from the ſhort ſwords which they uſed to wear, called in their language *Seaxon*; but neither truely. For my part I have conſulted *Ptolemie* for all the Nations; and the *Itinerarium* of *Antonius* for all the Towns in this tract, but can find none on which I may faſten any probable Etymologie. All therefore that I can ſay, is, that which *Robert* Biſhop of *Auranches* in *Normandy* hath ſaid before me, and that only in the generall, *Quos itaque ætas noſtra Picardos appellat veræ Belgæ dicendi ſunt: qui poſt modum in Picardorum nomen tranſmigrarunt.*

This Countrey is very plentifull of Corne and other grain, with which it abundantly furniſheth *Paris*; and hath in it more ſtore of paſture and medow grounds, then I elſe ſaw in any part of *France*. In Vines only it is defective, and that (as it is thought) more by the want of induſtry in the people, then any inhability in the ſoil. For indeed they are a people that will not labour more then they needs muſt, ſtanding much upon their ſtate and diſtance, and in the carriage of their bodies ſavouring a little of the *Spaniard*; whence *Picarder*, to play the *Picard*, is uſually ſaid of thoſe who are lofty in their looks, or gluttonous at their tables: this laſt being alſo one of the ſymptomes of a *Picard*. The Governor of this Province is the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, into which office he ſucceeded Mr. *Luynes*, as alſo he did into that of the Conſtable. Two preferments which he purchaſed at a deer rate, having ſold or abandoned that religion to compaſſe them, which he had profeſſed more then 60 years together; an apoſtaſie moſt unworthy of the man, who having for ſo many years ſupported the cauſe of religion, hath now forſaken it; and thereby made himſelf gilty of the cowardiſe of *M. Antonius*, *Qui cum in deſertores ſævire debuerat, deſertor ſui exercitus factus eſt.* But I fear an heavier cenſure waiteth upon him; the crown of immortality not being promiſed to all thoſe which run, but to thoſe only which hold out till the end. For the preſent indeed he hath augmented his honours by this office,

which is the principall of all *France*. He hath place and command before and over all the Peers and Princes of the bloud; and at the Coronation of the *French* Kings, miniſtreth the oath: when he entreth a City in ſtate, or upon the redition of it, he goeth before with the Sword naked; and when the King ſitteth in an aſſembly of the three eſtates, he is placed at the Kings right hand. He hath command over all his Majeſties forces; and he that killeth him is guilty of high treaſon. He ſitteth alſo as chief Judge at the Table of marble upon all ſuits, actions, perſons, and complaints whatſoever concerning the wars.

This Table *de Marbre* was wont to be continually in the great hall of the *Palais* at *Paris*; from whence upon the burning of that hall, it was removed to the *Louure*. At this table doth the Admirall of *France* hold his Seſſions, to judge of trafick, prizes, letters of marts, piracy, and buſineſſe of the like nature. At this table judgeth alſo *Le grand Maiſtre des eaues et forreſts*; we may call him the Juſtice in Eire of all his Majeſties Forreſts and waters. The actions here handled, are Theſts, and abuſes committed in the Kings Forreſts, Rivers, Parks, Fiſhponds, and the like. In the abſence of the *grand Maiſtre*, the power of ſentence reſteth in the *Les grand Maiſtres Enqueſteurs, et generaux reformateurs*, who have under their command no fewer then 300 ſubordinate officers. Here alſo ſit the Marſhals of *France*, which are ten in number, ſometimes in their own power, and ſometimes as Aſſiſtants to the Conſtable, under whoſe direction they are. With us in *England* the Marſhalſhip is more entire, as that which beſides its own juriſdiction, hath now incorporated into it ſelf moſt of the authority, antiently belonging to the Conſtables, which office ended in the death of *Edward* Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, the laſt hereditary and proprietary Conſtable of *England*. This office of Conſtable, to note unto you by the way ſo much, was firſt inſtituted by *Lewis* the groſſe, who began his reign, *anno* 1110. and conferred on Mr. *Les Diguieres* on the 24 of *July*, 1622. in the Cathedrall Church of *Grenoble*, where he firſt heard Maſſe, and where he was inſtalled Knight of both Orders. And ſo I leave the Conſtable to take a view of his Province, a man at this time beloved of neither parties;

hated

hated by the Protestants as an Apostata, and suspected by the Papists not to be entire.

To proceed, *July* the 28. we came unto *Clermont*, the first Town of any note that we met with in *Picardie*: a prety neat Town, and finely seated on the rising of an hill. For the defence of it, it hath on the upper side of it, an indifferent large Castle, and such which were the situation of it somewhat helped by the strength of Art, might be brought to do good service. Towards the Town, it is of an easie accesse, to the fieldwards more difficult, as being built on the perpendicular fall of a rock. In the year 1615, it was made good by Mr. *Harancourt* with a Regiment of eight Companies, who kept it in the name of the Prince of *Conde*, and the rest of that confederacy; but it held not long, for at the Marshall *D' Ancres* coming before it with his Army, and Artillery, it was presently yeelded. This war, which was the second civill war which had happened in the reign of King *Lewis*, was undertaken by the Princes, chiefly to thwart the designes of the Queen mother, and crush the powerfulnesse of her grand favourite, the Marshall. The pretence (as in such cases it commonly is) was the good of the Common-wealth: the occasion, the crosse marriages then consummated by the Marshall, between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; for by those marriages they seemed to fear the augmentation of the *Spaniards* greatnesse; the alienation of the affections of their antient allies; and by consequence the ruine of the *French* Empire. But it was not the fate of *D' Anire*, as yet to perish. Two years more of command and insolencies, his destinies allow'd him, and then he tumbled. This opportunity of his death ending the third civill war, each of which his faulty greatnesse had occasioned.

What the ambition of his designes did tend to, I dare not absolutely determine; though like enough it is, that they aimed further then at a private, or a personall potencie; for having under the favour and countenance of the Queen mother made himself master of the Kings ear, and of his Councell; he made a shift to get into his own hands an authority almost as unlimited, as that of the old *Mayre* of the Palace. For he had suppressed the liberty of the generall estates, and of the

sove-

ſoveraign Courts; removed all the officers and Counſellors of the laſt King; raviſhed one of the Preſidents of the great Chamber, by name Mr. *le Jay*, out of the Parliament into the priſon, and planted Garriſons of his own in moſt of the good Towns of *Normandy*, of which Province he was Governour. Add to this, that he had cauſed the Prince of *Conde*, being acknowledged the firſt Prince of the bloud, to be impriſoned in the *Baſtile*, and had ſearched into the continuance of the lives of the King and his brother, by the help of Sorcery and Witchcraft. Beſides, he was ſuſpected to have had ſecret intelligence with ſome forain Princes, ill willers to the State; and had diſgraced ſome and neglected others of the Kings old confederates. Certainly theſe actions ſeem to import ſome project beyond a private and obedient greatneſſe, though I can hardly believe that he durſt be ambitious of the Crown; for being a fellow of a low birth, his heart could not but be too narrow for ſuch an hope, and having no party amongſt the Nobility, and being leſſe gracious with the people, he was altogether deſtitute of means to compaſſe it. I therefore am of an opinion, that the *Spaniſh* gold had corrupted him to ſome project concerning the enlargement of that Empire, upon the *French* dominion; which the croſſe marriages, whereof he was the contriver, and which ſeemed ſo full of danger to all the beſt Patriots of *France*, may ſeem to demonſtrate. And again, at that time when he had put the Realm into his third combuſtion, the King of *Spain* had an Army on foot againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and another in the Countries of *Cleve* and *Juliers*; which had not the timely fall of this Monſter, and the peace enſuing prevented it, might both perhaps have met together in the midſt of *France*. But this only conjecturall.

CHAP. II.

The fair City of Amiens; *and greatneſſe of it. The* Engliſh *feaſted within it; and the error of that action; the Town how built, ſeated and fortified. The Citadell of it, thought to be impregnable. Not permitted to be viewed. The overmuch openneſſe of the* Engliſh *in diſcovering their ſtrength. The watch and form of Government in the Town.* Amiens *a Viſdamate: to whom it pertaineth. What that honour is in* France. *And how many there enjoy it, &c.*

THat night we went from *Clermont* to a Town called *Brettaul*, where we were harboured: being from *Clermont* 6 *French* leagues; and from *Paris* 20. Our entertainment there ſuch as in other places: as ſluttiſh, as inconvenient. The next day being the 29, about ten of the clock, we had a ſight of the goodly City of *Amiens*. A City of ſome four *Engliſh* miles circuit within the wals, which is all the greatneſſe of it: for without the wals it hath houſes few or none. A City very capacious, and for that cauſe hath been many times honoured with the perſons and trains of many great Princes: beſides that once it entertained almoſt an whole Army of the *Engliſh*. For King *Lewis* the 11. having made an advantagious peace with our *Edward* 4. and perceiving how ungratefull it was amongſt the military men, he intended alſo to give them ſome manner of ſatisfaction: He ſent therefore unto them 300 carts loaden with the beſt Wines: and ſeeing how acceptable a preſent that had proved; he intended alſo to feaſt them in *Amiens*, within half a league of which their Camp was lodged. This entertainment laſted four daies,

each ſtreet having in it two long tables: and each table being furniſhed with very plentiful proviſion. Neither were they denied entrance into any of the Taverns, and Victualling houſes, or therein ſtinted either in meats, or drinks; whatſoever was called for, being defrayed by King *Lewis*. An action wherein, if mine opinion might carry it, there was little of the politician. For there were permitted to enter into the Town ſo many at once of the *Engliſh* men, that had they been but ſo minded, they might eaſily have made themſelves Maſters both of the place, and of the Kings perſon. Nine thouſand are reckoned by *Comines* to have been within it together, and moſt of them armed: ſo that they might very eaſily have ſurpriſed the Gates, and let in the reſt of the Army. Thoſe of the *French* Kings Counſell much feared it, and therefore enformed both Princes of the danger, the one of his Town, the other of his Honour. But this jealouſie was but a *French* diſtruſt, and might well have been ſpared: the *Engliſh* being of that Generals minde, who ſcorned to ſteal a victory, and of that generous diſpoſition, that they would not betray their credits. *Nunquam illis adei ulla opportuna viſa eſt victoriæ occaſio, quam damno penſarent fides*: as the Hiſtorian of *Tiberius*. If this City then eſcaped a ſack or a ſurpriſal, it cannot be imputed to the wiſdome of the *French*, but to the modeſty and fair dealing of the *Engliſh*. But this was not the only ſolœciſm in point of ſtate, committed by that great politick of his time, King *Lewis*: there never being man ſo famed for his brain, that more groſly over-reached himſelf, then that Prince, though perhaps more frequently.

The buildings of this Town are of diverſe materials, ſome built of ſtone, others of wood, and ſome again of both. The ſtreets very ſweet and clean, and the air not giving place to any for a lively pureneſs. Of their buildings the principal are their Churches, whereof there are twelve only in number: Churches I mean parochial, and beſides thoſe belonging to Religious houſes. Next unto them the work of moſt eſpecial note, is a great and large Hoſpital; in method and the diſpoſing of the beds much like unto the *Hoſtel Dieu* in *Paris*, but in number much inferiour; *Et me*

tamen

tamen rapuerant, and yet the decency of them did much delight me. The ſweetneſſe and neatneſſe of the Town, proceeded partly as I ſaid from the air, and partly from the conveniency of the River of *Some*, on which it is ſeated. For the river running in one entire bank at the further end of the Town, is there divided into ſix channels, which almoſt at an equall diſtance run through the ſeveral parts of it. Thoſe channels thus divided, receive into them all the ordure and filth, with which the Town otherwiſe might be peſter'd: and affordeth the people a plentifull meaſure of water wherewith to purge the lanes, and bie corners of it, as often as them liſteth. But this is not all the benefit of theſe Channels: they beſtow upon the City matter alſo of commodity, which is the infinite number of Griſt-mils, that are built upon them. At the other end of the Town the Channels are again united into one ſtream: both thoſe places, as well of the diviſion, as of the union of the Channels being exceeding well fortified with chains and piles, and alſo with bulwarks and outworks.

Neither is the Town well fortified and ſtrengthned at thoſe paſſages only: the other parts of it having enough of ſtrength to inable them to a long reſiſtance. The ditch round about it, ſave where it meeteth with the Citadell, is exceeding deep, and ſteepie: the wals of a good height, broad, and compoſed of earth and ſtone equally: the one making up the outſide of them, and the other the inſide. The Gates are very large and ſtrong, as well in the finewie compoſition of themſelves, as in the addition of the Drawbridge. Suburbs this City hath none, becauſe a Town of war: nor any liberal circuit of territory, becauſe a frontier. Yet the people are indifferently wealthy, and have amongſt them good trading; beſides the benefit of the Garriſon, and the Cathedral. The Garriſon conſiſteth of 250 men, (500 in all they ſhould be) who are continually in pay to guard the Citadel, their pay eight Sols daily. The Governor of them is the Duke of *Chaune*, who is alſo the Lieutenant or Deputy Governour of the whole Province under the Conſtable: their Captain Mr. *Le Noyre*, ſaid to be a man of good

experience, and worthy his place. This Citadel was built by *Henry* 4. as ſoon as he had recovered the Town from the *Spaniards*, *anno* 1597. It is ſeated on the lower part of the City, though ſomewhat on the advantage of an hill, and ſeemeth in mine opinion, better ſituate to command the Town, then to defend it; or rather to recover the Town being taken, then to ſave it from taking. They who have ſeen it, and know the arts of fortification, report it to be impregnable.

——— Quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

Nor am I able to contradict it. For beſides that it is a skill beyond my profeſſion, we were not permitted to come within it, or to take a ſurvey of it, but at a diſtance. As ſoon as we approached nigh unto it, one of the Garriſon proffer'd us the Musket: a ſufficient warning not to be too venturous. So that all which I could obſerve was this: that they had within themſelves good plenty of earth to make their Gabions, and repair their breaches. With the ſame jealouſie alſo, are the reſt of the Forts and Towns of importance guarded in this and other Countreys: no people that ever I heard being ſo open in ſhewing their places of ſtrength and ſafety unto ſtrangers, as the *Engliſh*. For a dozen of Ale a foreiner may pace over the curtain of *Portſmouth*, and meaſure every ſtone and bulwark of it. For a ſhilling more he ſhall ſee their proviſion of powder and other munition. And when that is done, if he will he ſhall walk the round too. A *French* crown fathometh the wals of *Dover* Caſtle: and for a pinte of wine one may ſee the nakedneſſe of the blockhouſes at *Graveſend*. A negligence which may one day coſt us dearly: though we now think it not. For what elſe do we in it, but commit that prodigall folly, for which *Plutarch* condemned *Pericles*: that is, to break open all the pales and incloſures of our land, to the end that every man might come in freely, and take away our fruit at his pleaſure. Jealouſie, though a vice in a man towards his wife, is yet one of the ſafeſt vertues in a Governor towards

wards his fortreſſe: and therefore I could wiſh that an *Engliſh* man, would in this p rticular borrow a little of the *Italian*.

Beſides theſe ſouldiers which are continually in garriſon for the defence of the Citadell, there are alſo 300 which keep watch every night for the defence of the City. The watchmen receive no pay of the King, but diſcharge that duty amongſt themſelves, and in turns, every houſe finding one for that ſervice, twelve nights in the year. The weapons which they uſe, are pikes only, and muskets: there being not one piece of Ordinance all about the Town, or on the wals of it. The Governor of this Town, as it hath reference to the King, is a Bailly, who hath belonging to him all the authority which belongeth to a ſiege Preſidial. Under him he hath a Lieutenant generall, and particular; ſeven Counſellors, a publick Notary, and other inferior Officers and Magiſtrates. As it is a Corporation, the chief Governor of it is a Maior, and next to him the Eſchevins, or Sheriffs, as protectors of the inhabitants and their liberties: beſides thoſe of the Common-councell.

Another circumſtance there is, which ennobleth this Town of *Amiens*, which is, that it is a Viſdamate: or that it giveth honour to one of the Nobility, who is called the *Viſdame* of *Amiens*. This title at this time belongeth to the Duke of *Chaune*, Governor of the Citadell, together with the Lordſhip of *Piquigni*: both which he obtained by marrying the daughter and heir of the laſt Viſdame of *Amiens*, and Lord of *Piquigni*, *anno* 1619. A marriage which much advanced his fortunes, and which was compaſſed for him by the Conſtable *Luynes* his brother, who alſo obtained for him of the King, the title of Duke: his higheſt attribute before being that of Mr. *de Cadinet*, by which name he was known here in *England*, at ſuch time when he was ſent extraordinary Embaſſador to King *James*. This honour of Viſdame, is for ought I could ever ſee, uſed only in *France*. True it is that in ſome old *Engliſh* Charters we meet with this title of *Vice-dominus*. As in the Charter of King *Edred* to the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincolnſhire*, dated in the year 948. there is there ſubſcribed *Ego Ingulph Vice-dominus*: but with us, and at

thoſe times, this title was only uſed to denote a ſubordination to ſome ſuperior Lord, and not as an honorary attribute, in which ſenſe it is now uſed in *France*. Beſides that, with us it was frequently, though falſly uſed for *Vice-comes*. Between which two offices of a Vicount and a Viſdame, there are found no ſmall reſemblances. For as they which did *gerere vicem Comitis*, were called *Vicecomites* or Vicounts: ſo were they alſo called Vidames or *Vicedomini*, *qui domini epiſcopi vicem gerebant in temporalibus*. And as Vicounts from officers of the Earls became honorary: ſo did the Vidames diſclaim their relation to the Biſhop, and became Signieural or honorary alſo.

The Vidames then according to their firſt inſtitution were the ſubſtitutes of the greater Biſhops, in matter of ſecular adminiſtration: for which cauſe, though they have altered their tenure, they take all of them their denomination from the chief town of ſome Biſhoprick. Neither is there any of them, who holdeth not of ſome Biſhoprick or other. Concerning the number of them that are thus dignified I cannot determine. Mr. *Glover*, otherwiſe alled *Somerſet Herald*, in his Diſcourſe of Nobility, publiſhed by Mr. *Milles* of *Canterbury*, putteth it down for abſolute, that here are four only, *viz.* of *Amiens*, of *Chartres*, of *Chalons*, and of *Gerberey* in *Beauvais*; but in this he hath deceived both himſelf and his readers, there being, beſides thoſe divers others, as of *Rheimes*, *Mans*, and the like. But the particular and exact number of them, together with the place denominating, I leave to the *French* Heralds: unto whoſe profeſſion it principally belongeth.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Church of Noſtre Dame *in* Amiens. *The principal Churches in moſt Cities called by her name. More honour performed to her then to her Saviour. The ſurpaſsing beauty of this Church on the outſide. The front of it. King* Henry *the ſevenths Chappel at* Weſtminſter. *The curiouſneſſe of this Church within. By what means it became to be ſo. The ſumptuous masking cloſets in it. The excellency of perſpective works. Indulgences by whom firſt founded. The eſtate of the Biſhoprick.*

THere is yet one thing which addeth more luſtre to the City of *Amiens*, then either the Vidamate or the Citadel, which is the Church of *Noſtre Dame*. A name by which moſt of the principal Churches are known in *France*. There have we the *Noſtre Dame* in *Roven*, a ſecond in *Paris*, a third in this City, a fourth in *Boulogne*, all Cathedrall: ſo alſo a *Noſtre Dame* in *Abbeville* and another in *Eſtampes*: the principal Church in thoſe Towns alſo: had I ſeen more of their Towns, I had met with more of her Temples: for of ſo many I have heard of, that if there be more then two Churches in a Town, one ſhall be ſure to be dedicated unto her, and that one of the faireſt: of any temples conſecrated to the name and memory of our Saviour, *ne gry quidem*: there was not ſo much as a word ſtirring, neither could I marvail at it, conſidering the honours done to her, and thoſe to her ſon; betwixt which there is ſo great a diſproportion, that you would have imagined that *Mary*, and not *Jeſus* had been our Saviour. For one *Pater noſter* the people are enjoyned ten *Ave Maries*, and to recompenſe one pilgrimage to Chriſts Sepulchre at *Hieruſalem*

ſalem, you ſhall hear 200 undertaken to our Lady of *Loretto*: and whereas in their Kalendar they have dedicated only four feſtivals to our Saviour, which are thoſe of his birth, circumciſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion, (all which the *Engliſh* Church alſo obſerveth) for the Virgins ſake they have more then doubled the number. Thus do they ſolemnize the feaſts of her purification, and annuntiation, at the times which we alſo do: of her viſitation of *Elizabeth*, in *July*; of her dedication and aſſumption in *Auguſt*: of her nativity in *September*: of her preſentation, in *November*: and of her conception in the womb of her mother, in *December*. To her have they appropriated ſet formes of Prayers preſcribed in the two books called, one *Officium*, and the other *Roſarium beatæ Mariæ virginis*, whereas her ſon muſt be contented with thoſe oraiſons which are in the common Maſſe-book. Her ſhrines and images are more glorious and magnificent, then thoſe of her ſon. And in her Chappel are more vowes paid, then before the Crucifix. But I cannot blame the vulgar, when the great maſters of their ſouls are thus alſo beſotted. The *Officium* before mentioned, publiſhed by the command of *Pius* 2. ſaith thus of her. *Gaude Maria virgo; tu ſola omnes hæreſes interemiſti in univerſo mundo. Catharinus* in the Councel of *Trent*, calleth her *fideliſſimam dei ſociam*: and he was modeſt if compared with others. In one of their Councels, Chriſts name is quite forgotten, and the name of our Lady put in the place of it. For thus it beginneth: *Autoritate Dei patris, & beatæ virginis, & omnium ſanctorum*: but moſt horrible is that of one of their writers (I am loth to ſay it was *Bernard*) *Beata virgo monſtra te eſſe matrem, jube filium*: which *Harding* in his confutation of the apologie, endeavouring to make good; would needs have it to be only an exceſſe of minde, or a ſpiritual ſport and dalliance. But from all ſuch ſports and dalliances, no leſſe then from the plague, peſtilence and famine, Good Lord deliver us.

Leaving our Lady, let us go to ſee her Church, which queſtionleſſe is one of the moſt glorious piles of building under the heavens. What *Velleius* ſaith of *Auguſtus*, that he was *homo qui omnibus omnium gentium viris inducturus erat caliginem*:

Or

or what *Suetonius* ſpake of *Titus*, when he called him *Delitias humani generis*; both thoſe attributes and more too, may I moſt fitly faſten on this moſt magnificent Structure. The whole body of it is of moſt curious and poliſht ſtone, every where born up by buttreſſes of that excellent compoſure, that they ſeem to add more of beauty to it then of ſtrength. The Quire of it, as in great Churches commonly it is, is of a fairer fabrick then the body, thick ſet with dainty pillars, and moſt of them reaching to the top of it, in the faſhion of an arch. I am not well able to judge, whether this Quire, or the Chappell of King *Henry* VII. at *Weſtminſter*, be the more exquiſite piece of Architecture; though I am not ignorant that *Leland* calleth that of our King *Miraculum orbis*. I perſwade my ſelf, that a moſt diſcerning eye could find out but little difference between them, and that difference more ſubtile then ſound: for if ſuch perfection may receive the word of *more*, it might be ſaid, that there were more majeſty in this of *Amiens*, and more of lovelineſſe in that of *Weſtminſter*; yet ſo that the ones majeſty did exceed in lovelineſſe, and the others lovelineſſe exceed in majeſty.

Tam bene conveniunt, & in una ſede morantur
Majeſtas & amor.

But now we are come unto the divinity of the workmanſhip; the front, which preſenteth it ſelf unto us with two Towers, and three gates, that in the midſt being the principall. The front of *Welles* or *Peterborough*, which we ſo much fame in *England*, deſerve not to be named in the ſame myriad of years, with this of *Amiens*; for here have you almoſt all the ſacred ſtories engraven ſo lively, that you would no longer think the ſtory of *Pygmalions* image to be a fable; and indeed at the firſt ſight, you would confidently believe that the hiſtories there preſented were not carved, but acted. To ſay no more of it (for all my abilities will but diſgrace it in the deſcription) that of *Zeuxis* may moſt fitly be inſcribed upon it, *Inviſurum facilius aliquem, quam imitaturum*; ſo infinitely it is above the ambition of imitation.

The outside of the Church being admirable, you would have thought that art and treasure had left nothing of themselves to bestow within it: yet herein would such thoughts deceive you; for although the beauty of the *Nostre dames* in *Paris* and *Roven* lay most without, yet here it serveth but as a maske to hide and conceal those most admirable graces which are within. As soon as entred you will suppose that the materials of it are all of gold; such a lustre doth it cast upon the eyes of all those that look upon it. The glory of *Solomons* Temple, next unto the description of it in the Scriptures, is best read in this Church, of which it seemeth to have been the pattern. *Jupiters* house in heaven described by the Poets, was never half so gorgeous as this on the earth; that therefore which *Ovid* Poetically spake concerning that imaginary Palace of the false God, we may positively verifie of this reall mansion of the true God.

Hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,
Haud timeam magni dixisse palatia regis.

To instance in particulars; the partition between the Quire and the body, is so overlaid with gold, that the acutest sight could apprehend no other substance of it; and yet the art of the workman so fully expressed its power on it, that the cost was much inferiour to the workmanship; so curiously was it adorned with excellent Imagery, and what else the hand of man could fashion into portraiture: on the top of it was the Statua of our Lady in the just height and proportion of a woman, all either of gold or gilded; her child in her armes, of the same making. She was there expressed as standing in a round circle, unto every point of which she darted out rayes and beams of gold; just as the Sun doth seem to do, when the Painter hath drawn him in his full lustre. The glasse of the Church generally, and particularly that about the Quire, and the Virgins Chappell, is the fullest of life and beauty, of any that I ever yet set eye upon. As much as that of St. *Denis* exceedeth ours at *Canterbury*, so much doth this St. *Denis*. But the largest measure of perfection in it is that of the Pillars, which though full of majesty

majesty in their height and compasse, have yet an ornament added to them, more majesticall then the majesty, for upon each of them (there are four ranks of them in all) are fastned four Tables, which take up their whole circle, every Table being in length two yards or thereabout. In every of these, are the pictures of sundry men and women of the better quality, so exactly limmed, that neither a curious eye could desire, nor a cunning hand discharge it better. These Tables are the Monuments and Tombs of the Burgers of the City, or of the noblest of the Countrey nigh unto it; who in them have caused their pictures to be drawn with as great art and state as cost could procure them, and in a subscription of golden letters, have eternized their names and that act to all succeeding posterity. So that we may justly say of the sumptuousnesse of this Church, what the Historian doth of the Temple of *Delphos*, *Multa igitur ibi, & opulenta regum populorumque visuntur munera; quæque magnificentia sui, reddentium vota gratam voluntatem manifestant.* Neitheir have these Sepulchrall ornaments been of any great standing; the antientest of them which I could observe having been erected since the year 1570. Add to these the curious works which the ingraver hath cut in the main wals, and then you perhaps will fall into the same extasie that I did, and pick a quarell with nature and the heavens, that they had not made you all into an eye.

In this Church, as in others also of this party, besides the high Altar in the middest of the Quire, there are divers others in the private Closets, which are destinate to the mumbling of their low Masses. Of these there are in number 24. all of them seated between the two outermost rankes of pillars and the wals; prety neat places, and it is pity they should be abused to such Idolatries. Of three of them I took especiall notice, they being indeed the chiefest of the rest, either for furniture or use.

The first of them was that of the Virgin, which was divided from the rest of the Church by a sphere made of wood, which reached unto the tops of the parti-

tition. On the outside the Planets, Starres and Constellations were most artificially set down in their proper orbes, with the times of absolving their severall courses. On the inside, those spaces were filled up with a pack of Verses in commendation of our Lady. The Altar there, was for matter and making, the most glorious that ever I yet looked upon; that on the other side in the Quire, and over which is the image of our Saviour, being more despicable then were fit for the credite of a Village. Over this Altar was the Virgins Statua, all gilt, and of a full and womanly proportion; two Angels of the same materials attending on her. Finally, this Chappell considering the richnesse and glory of it, may be styled the *Epitome of the Church*; that attribute of *Immensæ opulentiæ Templum*, being no more deservedly applyable to *Solomons* Temple, of which *Tacitus* spake it, then to this.

The second of them, stood as I remember, at the further end of the Church behind the Quire; not directed for ought I could perceive to any particular Saint, yet not to be passed over without a due remembrance. It was separated from the rest of the Church by two ranks of brasse pillars, one rank above the other. The pillars all curiously casted, and such as would not shame the workman. In this Massing Closet over the Altar there was hanged a tablet, which by the many lines and shadowes drawn in it, seemed to represent some piece of building. Moving my hand towards mine eye in the nature and kind of a Perspective glasse, I perceived it to be the representation of that Church in which I stood to see it; and it was done with that cunning, that it would almost have perswaded a man out of himself, and made him believe, that he had been in the Church yard. So perfectly did it shew the majesty of the Front, the beauty of the Iles, the number of the Pillars, and the glory of the Quire. A kinde of work, in mine opinion of all others the most excellent, and such as would infinitely delight an optick. Had not

such

ſuch pieces been vulgar to me, it had more affected me; but in the Gallery of Mr. *Crane* of *Cambridge*, once belonging to that humorous Phyſitian Mr. *Butler*; and in that of Sir *Noel Caron*, late Leiger for the States, at *Lambeth*, I had ſeen divers of them, whereof ſome perfecter.

The third of theſe Muſſing cloſets was that of St. *Peter*, not ſo gorgeous as the reſt unto the eyes of them that ſaw it, but more uſefull to the ſouls of thoſe, who had a minde to take the benefit of it. For therein hung an indulgence granted by Pope *Gregory* the fifteenth unto that Church; Dated the 27 of *July*, *anno* 1622. and of his Popedome the ſecond. The contents of it were an abſolute exemption from the paines and place of Purgatory to thoſe, who upon the Feaſt of *All-ſoules* (*Feſtum commemorationis defunctorum*, the brief calleth it) and the *Octaves* of it; would come to pay their devotions and moneyes, in that Temple. Had the extent of it been generall, it would quickly have emptied the Popes Treaſury; and in time have put an end to Purgatory. His Holineſſe therefore did wiſely reſtrain it in his Bull, to the natives of that Dioceſſe. The Author and firſt founder of this granting of Indulgences (if it be lawfull to note ſo much by the way) was Pope *Urban* the ſecond, who began his Popedome *anno* 1088. who conferred them upon all ſuch as would goe unto the warres for the recovering of *Jeruſalem*; next they began to be conferred on thoſe, who would ſide with the Pope, in his unlawfull warres againſt the Emperours. And laſtly, about the time of *Clement* the fifth (he began his reign *anno* 1306) they began to be merchantable; for to him that gainfull invention of the Church Treaſury, conſiſting of the merits of our Saviour and the Saints is imputed. But I return againe to the Church of *Amiens*.

This glorious Church is the ſeat of a Biſhop, who acknowledgeth for his Metropolitan, the Archbiſhop of *Rhemes*,

Rhemes, Primate of all *France*; the first Bishop of it was one *Firminus*, a native of *Pampelune* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, who suffered Martyrdome under the Emperour *Diocletian*. To him succeeded another *Firminus*, to whom the first foundation of the Church is attributed. The present *Diocesan* is named *Franciscus Faber*, his intrade about 6000 crownes a year. *Chanoins* there are in the Church to the number of forty, of whose revenue I could not learn any thing; neither could I be so happy as to see the head of St. *John Baptist*, whis is said to be here entire; though it cannot be denied that a piece of it is in the holy Chappell at *Paris*, besides those fractions of it which are in other places.

CHAP. IV.

Our Journey down the Some, *and Company. The Town and Caſtle of* Piquigni, *for what famous.* Comines *cenſure of the* Engliſh *in matter of Prophecies. A farewell to the Church of* Amiens. *The Town and Caſtle of* Pont D' Armie. Abbeville *how ſeated; and the Garriſon there. No Governour in it but the* Maior *or* Provoſt. *The Authors imprudent curioſity; and the curteſie of the* Provoſt *to him. The* French *Poſt-horſes how baſe and tired. My preferment to the Trunke-horſe. The horſe of* Philip de Comines. *The Town and ſtrength of* Monſtreville. *The importance of theſe three Towns to the* French *border,* &c.

JUly the 30. we took boat to go down to *Abbeville*, by the river of *Some*; a river of no great breadth, but deep and full; the boat which carryed us was much of the making of thoſe Lighters which live upon the Thames, but that is was made more wieldie and fit for ſpeed. There were in it of us in all, to the number of 30 perſons or thereabouts: people of all conditions, and ſuch with whom a man of any humor might have found a companion Under the tilt we eſpied a bevie of Laſſes, mixt with ſome young Gentlemen. To them we applyed our ſelves, and they taking a delight to hear our broken *French*, made much of our company; for in that little time of our abode there we had learned only ſo much of the *French*, as a little child after a years practiſe hath of his mothers tongue; *Linguis dimidiata*

dimidiata adhuc verba tentantibus ; & loquela ipſo offenſantis linguæ fragmine dulciori. The Gentlewomen next thoſe of *Orleans*, were the handſomeſt that I had ſeen in *France*, very pleaſant and affable ; one of them being ſhe which put my Religion to the touchſtone of kiſſing the croſſe of her beads. Thus aſſociated, we paſſed merrily down the ſtreame, though ſlowly ; the delight which our language gave the companie, and the content which their liberal humanity afforded to us, beguiling the tedioufneſſe of the way.

The firſt thing we met with obſervable, was the Town and Caſtle of *Piquigni*. The Town poor and beggerly, and ſo unlikely to have named the Province, as *Mercator* would have it ; beſides the diſproportion and diſſimilitude of the names. The Caſtle ſituate on the top of the hill, is now a place of more pleaſure then ſtrength, as having command over an open and goodly Countrey, which lyeth below it. It belongeth as we have ſaid, to the *Vidamate* of *Amiens* ; and ſo doth the Town alſo. This Town is famous among the *French* for a Tradition and a truth, the Tradition is of a famous defeat given unto the *Engliſh* near unto it ; but in whoſe reign, and under whoſe conduct, they could not tell us. Being thus routed, they fled to this Town, into which their enemies followed with them, intending to put them all to the ſword : but at laſt their fury being allaied, they propoſed that mercy to them, which thoſe of *Gilead* did unto thoſe of *Ephraim* in the Scriptures : life and liberty being promiſed to all them which could pronounce this word *Piquigni*. It ſeemeth it was not in thoſe dayes a word poſſible for an *Engliſh* mouth ; for the *Engliſh* ſaying all of them *Pequenie* in ſtead of *Piquigni*, were all of them put to the ſword : thus far the Tradition. The Truth of ſtory, by which this Town is famous in the writers of both Nations, is an enterview here given betwixt our *Edward* IV. and their *Lewis* XI. upon the concluding of their nine years truce. A circumſtance of no great moment of it ſelf, had not *Philip de Comines* made it ſuch by one of his own obſervations. Upon this meeting the Chancellor of *England*, being Biſhop of *Ely*, made an oration to both Kings, beginning

ning with a propheſie; which ſaid, that in this place of *Piquigni*, an honourable peace ſhould be concluded between the two Kingdoms: on this ground, which himſelf alſo is the only man that relateth, he hath built two obſervations; the one (I have not the originall by me) *That the Engliſh men are never unfurniſhed with Propheſies*; the other, *That they ground every thing they ſpeak upon Propheſies*. How far thoſe times were guilty of that humor, I cannot ſay; though ſure I am, that we are not the only men that were ſo affected. *Paulus Jovius* in ſome place of his Hiſtories (I remember not the particular) hath vindicated that quarrell for us, and faſtned the ſame imputation on the *French*. So true is that of the *Tragedian*, *Quod quiſque fecit patitur, authorem ſcelus repetit*. And now being paſt *Piquigni*, I have loſt the ſight of the Church of *Amiens*.

The faireſt Fabrick, and moſt rich to ſee
That ere was guilty of mortalitie.
No preſent Structure like it, nor can fame
In all its bed-rols boaſt an equall name.
Let then the barbarous Egyptians *ceaſe*
So to extoll their huge Pyramides;
Let them grow ſilent of their Pharus, *and*
Conceale the other triumph of their Land.
And let the Carians *henceforth leave to raiſe*
Their Mauſolæa *with ſuch endleſſe praiſe.*
This Church alone doth them as much excell,
As they the loweſt Cottages, where do dwell
The leaſt of men: as they thoſe urnes which keep
The ſmalleſt aſhes which are laid to ſleep.

Nor be thou vext thou glorious Queen of night,
Nor let a cloud of darkneſſe maſk thy light.
That renownd Temple which the Greeks *did call*
The worlds ſeventh wonder, and the fair'ſt of all:
That pile ſo famous, that the world did ſee
Two only great and high, thy fame and thee:
Is neither burnt and periſht, Epheſus
Survives the follies of Eroſtratus.

Only thy name in Europe *to advance,*
It was transported to the Realm of France.
And here it ſtands, not robb'd of any grace
Which there it had; nor altred, ſave in place.
Caſt thy beams on it, and twill ſoon be prov'd
Thy Temple was not ruin'd but remov'd.
Nor are thy rites ſo chang'd; but thou'lt aver
This Chriſtian is thy old Idolater.

But oh good God! how long ſhall thy decree
Permit this Temple to Idolatrie?
How long ſhall they profane this Church, and make
Thoſe ſacred wals and pavements to partake
Of their loud ſins: and here that Doctrine teach,
'Gainſt which the very ſtones do ſeem to preach?
Reduce them Lord unto thee; make them ſee
How ill this building and their rites agree:
Or make them know, though they be ſtill the ſame,
This houſe was purpos'd only to thy name.

The next place of note that the water conveied us to, was the Town and Caſtle of *Pont d' Arme:* a place now ſcarce viſible in the ruines, and belonging to one Mr. *Quercy*. It took name, as they ſay, from a bridge here built for the tranſportation of an Army; but this I cannot juſtifie. Three leagues down the river is the Town of *Abbeville*; a Town conveniently ſeated on the *Some*, which runneth through it. It is of greater circuite within the wals, then the City of *Amiens*, and hath four Pariſh Churches more then it; but is not ſo beautifull, nor ſo populous. For the houſes here are of an older ſtampe, and there is within the Town no ſcarcity of waſt ground. I went round about the wals, and obſerved the thinneſs of the houſes, & the largeneſs of the fields, which are of that capacity and extent, that for ought I could apprehend, the Town need never fear to be compelled by famine, if thoſe fields were husbanded to the beſt advantages. The wals are of earth within and ſtone without, of an unequall breadth, and in ſome places ruinous. A Caſtle it once had, of which there is now ſcarce any thing remaining. In ſtead of which, and in places more convenient, they built out

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three Baſtions, very large and capacious; and ſuch well manned need not yeeld upon a ſummons. There are alſo a couple of mounts raiſed nigh unto the wall, at that place where the Countrey is moſt plain, upon which good Ordinance would have good command; but at this time there were none upon it. Without the wals it is diverſly ſtrengthned, having in ſome places a deep ditch without water, in ſome a ſhallower ditch but well filled by the benefit of the river, in others only a mooriſh and fennie levell, more dangerous to the enemie, and ſecure to the Town, then either of the reſt, and therefore never guarded by the Souldiers of the Garriſon. But the chief ſtrength of it, is five Companies of *Swiſs*, 100 in a company, proper tall fellowes in appearance, and ſuch as one would imagine fit for the ſervice. It was my chance to ſee them begin their watch; to which imployment they advanced with ſo good order, and ſuch a ſhew of ſtomach, as if they had not gone to guard a Town, but poſſeſſe one. Their watch was at *Porte de Boyes*, and *Porte St. Valery*; the firſt lying near unto *Heſdin* a frontier Town of *Artoys*; the other five leagues only from the Sea and Haven of St. *Valery*. From thoſe places moſt danger was feared, and therefore there kept moſt of their Souldiers, and all their Ordinance. Their Captain is named Mr. *Aillè* a *Griſon* by birth, and reported for a good Souldier. Beſides him they have no Military Commander; the Maior of the Town, contrary to the nature of Towns of war, being there in higheſt authority. A priviledge granted unto the Maiors hereof, not long ſince, as a reward due to one of their integrities, who underſtanding that the Governour of the Town held intelligence with the *Arch-duke*; apprehended him and ſent him to the Court, where he received his puniſhment. This *Abbeville* (and ſo I leave it, and in it my bevie of *French* laſſes) is ſo called *quaſi Abbatis Villa*, as formerly belonging to the Abbot of it.

And yet before I leave this Town, I muſt needs take notice of an Adventure, which might have proved prejudiciall to me, if my good fortune had not overcome all contrary accidents. My companions had no ſooner landed out of the boat which brought us from *Amiens*, but preſently

they betook themselves to the Post-house without the Town, that they might be ready for *Bologne* the next morning. But I who did not think that I was to make such a gollopping journey thorow *France*, as the fooliſh traveller affirmed he had made thorow *Venice*, resolved to satisfie my self in all those particulars which I found capable of note and observation. Which having done, and thinking I had still day enough for my curiosities, I betook my self to the *Corps du guard*, where being soon known to be a Gentleman of *England*, I easily obtained leave to walk round about the works of the Town, and to observe the situation, strength, and defences of it. But so it hapned that before I came to the gate which led towards the Post-house, I found it newly locked up by the Captain of the watch for that night, and thought I might have found passage at the next gate, had I hastned towards it; yet I was so taken up with the orderly march of the Guards, being all proper fellowes and well appointed, that before I came to that gate, it was locked up also: which being the two only gates on that side of the River, deprived me of all ordinary means to come that night to my Companions, who were resolved to be on horse-back the next morning by the break of day. I had now liberty enough to traverse and consult the streets, within which I seemed to be imprisoned, but could meet none that could informe me how to free my self out of that restraint; at last I met with an old Burger of a comely presence, who I thought promised better satisfaction then the rest had given me; who being acquainted with my desire of uniting my self with my companions, and the difficulty which my curiosity had brought upon me, directed me to the house of the Provost, who, as he told me, had the keeping of a Water-gate under one of the Arches of the wall by which the River passed thorow the Town, by which I might finde a way out of it, if I could wooe him to make use of his priviledge in that point, which he thought hard, if not impossible to be effected. Well, to the Provosts house I went, whom I found at home, acquainted him that I came with Letters from

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the Court of *England*, that I was returning thither with my dispatches, that my companions being lesse curious then my self, had presently betook themselves to their lodgings without the Town, that it would be a great reproach to me, if I should not be in *England* as soon as they, and therefore humbly did beseech him (in as good *French* as I could) that he would be my means to set me on the other side of the River without the Town, which I understood to be in his power. To this request he yeelded with a great deal of chearfulnesse, assuring me that he thought himself exceeding happy in having opportunity of doing any acceptable service to an *English* Gentleman: which said, he presently dispatched a servant for his *Bayliffe dell eaw*, or Water Bailiffe (being a sworn officer of the Town) to attend upon him, and in the mean time entertained himself with such discourses as I was able to make him of the Queens reception. News being brought that the Water Bailiffe was coming forwards, he conducted me into a low Parlor very handsomely furnished, where I found a Banquet or Collation provided for me, consisting of cold bake-meats, choise Marmelets, and most excellent Wines, and (which I looked upon as the greater favour) his Wife and Daughters ready for my entertainment. We had scarce ended this refreshment, when the Bailiff brought word that he had made a boat ready to carry me to the Water-gate; whereupon having had the honor to kisse the hands of the women, I made accompt to take my leave of the Provost also, who on the other side was resolved to accompany me to the water side, and not to leave me till he saw me passed thorow the gate (whether out of civility to me, or compliance with the trust reposed in him, I determine not) which was done accordingly; one of his servants waiting on me till he had brought me to the Inne where I was to lodge.

July the last, we took Post-horse for *Bologne*; if at the least we may call those Post-horses, which we rid on. As lean they were, as Envie is in the Poet; *Macies in corpore toto*, being most true of them. Neither were they only lean enough to have their ribs numbred, but the very

ſpur-gals had made ſuch caſements through their skins, that it had been no great difficulty to have ſurveyed their entrails. A ſtrange kind of Cattell in my mine opinion, and ſuch as had neither fleſh on their bones, nor skin on their fleſh, nor hair on their skin; ſure I am they were not ſo luſty as the horſes of the Sun in *Ovid*; neither could we ſay of them *Flammiferis implent hinnitibus auras.* All the neighing we could hear from the proudeſt of them, was only an old dry cough, which I'le aſſure you did much comfort me, for by that noiſe I firſt learned there was life in them. Upon ſuch Anatomies of horſes, or to ſpeak more properly, upon ſuch ſeverall heaps of bones, when I and my Companion mounted; and when we expected, however they ſeemed outwardly, to ſee ſomewhat of the Poſt in them, my beaſt began to move after an *Aldermans* pace, or like Envie in *Ovid*,

Surgit humi pigre, paſſuque incedit inerti.

Out of this gravity no perſwaſion could work them; the dull Jades being grown unſenſible of the ſpur, and to hearten them with wands would in ſhort time have diſforeſted the Country. Now was the Cart of *Dieppe* thought a ſpeedy conveyance; and thoſe that had the happineſſe of a Waggon were eſteemed too bleſſed, yea though it came with the hazard of the old woman and the wenches. If good nature, or a ſight of their journeyes end, did chance to put any of them into a pace like unto a gallop, we were ſure to have them tire in the middle way, and ſo the remainder of the Stage was to be meaſured by our own feet. Being weary of this trade, I made bold to diſmount the Poſtilion, and aſcended the trunk-horſe, where I ſat in ſuch a magnificent poſture, that the beſt Carrier in *Paris* might envie my felicity. Behind me I had a good large Trunk and a Port mantle; before me a bundle of cloaks, a cloak-bag, and a parcell of boots; ſure I was if my ſtirrups could poiſe me equally on both ſides, that I could not likely fall backwards nor forwards. Thus preferred, I encouraged my companions, who caſt many an envious eye upon my proſperity. And certainly there was not any

any of them, who might not more justly have said of me, *Tu as un meilleur temps que le Pape*, then poor *Lazarello's* master did when he allowed him an Onion only for four dayes. This circumstance I confesse might have well been omitted, had I not great example for it. *Philip de Comines* in the middest of his grave and serious relation of the Battail of *Mont l'Hierrie*, hath a note much about this nature, which gave me encouragement, which is, *That himself had an old horse halfe tired* (and this was just my case) *who by chance thrust his head into a pale of wine and dranke it off, which made him lustier and fresher that day, then ever before*: but in that, his horse had better luck then I had.

On the right hand of us, and almost in the middle way betwixt *Abbeville* and *Bologne*, we left the Town of *Monstrueil*, which we had not leasure to see. It seemeth daintily seated for command and resistance, as being built upon the top and declivity of a hill. It is well strengthned with Bastions and Ramparts on the outside, & hath within it a Garrison of five Companies of Souldiers; their Governeur (as I learned of one of the Paisants) being called *Lannoy* And indeed it concerneth the King of *France* to look wel to the Town of *Monstrueil*, as being a border Town, within two miles of *Artoys*; and especially considering that the taking of it, would cut off all entercourse between the Countries of *Bologne* and *Calais*, with the rest of *France*. Of the like importance also are the Towns of *Ableville* and *Amiens*; and that the *French* Kings are not ignorant of. Insomuch that those two only, together with that of St. *Quintain*, being put into the hands of *Philip* D. of *Burgundy*, to draw him from the party of the *English*; were redeemed again by *Lewis* XI. for 450000 crownes, an infinite sum of money, according to the standard of those times; and yet it seemeth the King of *France* had no bad bargain of it. For upon an hope only of regaining these Towns, *Charles* Eal of *Charaloys* son to D. *Philip* undertook that war against King *Lewis*, by which at the last, he lost his life, and hazarded his estate.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

The County of Boulonnois, *and Town of* Boulogne *by whom Enfranchized. The present of Salt-butter.* Boulogne *divided into two Towns. Procession in the lower Town to divert the Plague. The forme of it. Procession and the Letany by whom brought into the Church. The high Town Garrisoned. The old man of* Boulogne; *and the desperate visit which the Author bestowed upon him. The neglect of the* English *in leaving open the Havens. The fraternity* De la Charite, *and inconvenience of it. The costly Journey of* Henry VIII. *to* Boulogne. *Sir* Walt. Raleghs *censure of that Prince condemned. The discourtesie of* Charles V. *towards our* Edward VI. *The defence of the house of* Burgundy *how chargeable to the Kings of* England. Boulogne *yeilded back to the* French; *and on what conditions. The curtesie and cunning of my Host of* Bovillow.

WE are now come to the County of *Boulonnois*, which though a part of *Picardie*, disdaineth yet to be so accounted, but will be reckoned as a County of it self. It comprehendeth in it the Town of *Boulogne*, *Estaples*, and *Nuf-Chastell*, besides divers Villages; and consisteth much of Hils and Vallies, much after the nature of *England*; the soil being indifferent fruitfull of Corne, and yielding more Grasse then any other part of *France* (which we saw) for the quantity. Neither is it only a County of it self, but it is in a manner also a free County, it being holden imme-

immediately of the Virgin *Mary*, who is, no queſtion, a very gracious Landladie. For when King *Lewis* XI. after the deceaſe of *Charles* of *Burgundy*, had taken in *Boulogne*, *anno* 1477. as new Lord of the Town (thus *John de Serres* relateth it) he did homage without Sword or Spurs, bare-headed and on his knee, before the *Virgin Mary*, offering unto her Image an heart of maſſie gold, weighing 2000 crowns. He added alſo this, that he and his ſucceſſors Kings after him, ſhould hold the County of *Boulogne* of the ſaid Virgin, and do homage unto her image in the great Church of the higher Town dedicated to her name, paying at every change of a Vaſſall an heart of pure gold of the ſame weight. Since that time, the *Boulonnois* being the Tenants of our Lady, have enjoyed a perpetuall exemption from many of thoſe Tributes and Taxes, under which the reſt of *France* is miſerably afflicted. Amongſt others they have been alwayes freed from the Gabell of Salt; by reaſon whereof, and by the goodneſſe of their Paſtures, they have there the beſt butter in all the Kingdome. I ſaid partly by reaſon of their ſalt, becauſe having it at a low rate, they do liberally ſeaſon all their Butter with it; whereas they which buy their Salt at the Kings price, cannot afford it any of that deer commodity: upon this ground it is the cuſtome of theſe of *Boulonnois* to ſend unto their friends of *France* and *Paris*, a barrell of Butter ſeaſoned according to their faſhion; a preſent no leſſe ordinary and acceptable, then Turkies, Capons, and the like, are from our Countrey Gentlemen to thoſe of *London*.

As for the Town of *Boulogne*, it is divided into two parts, *La haute Ville*, and *La baſſe Ville*, or the high Town, and the low Town, diſtant one from the other above an hundred paces, and upwards. The high Town is ſeated upon the top of an hill; the low Town upon the declivity of it, and towards the Haven. Or elſe we may divide it into other parts, *viz.* the Town, and the City; the Town that towards the water, and the City that which lyeth above it. It was made a City in the reign of *Henry* II. *anno* 1553. at which time the City of *Terovenne* was totally ruined by the Imperials, and the Biſhops ſeat was removed hither; the Church

of *Noſtre Dame* being made the Cathedrall. There came along hither, upon the remove of the Biſhop, 20 Canons, which number is here ſtill retained, their revenue being about 1000 Livres yearly. As for the preſent Biſhop, his name is *Pierre d' Armè*, his intrado 2000 Livres, his *Metropolitan* he of *Rhemes*. The Town, or as they call it, the low Town, is bigger then the City, and better built, the ſtreets larger, and the people richer, moſt of the Merchants living in it, becauſe it lyeth upon the Haven.

But that which made this low Town moſt pleaſing to me, was a ſolemn proceſſion that paſſed through the ſtreets of it, intending to pacifie Gods anger, and divert the plague, which at that time was in the City. In the firſt front there was carried the Croſſe, and after that the holy or ſanctified Banner; next unto it followed all the Prieſts of the Town bare-headed, and in their Surplices, ſinging as they went the Services deſtinate to that occaſion. After them followed the men, and next to them the women of the Town, by two and two, it being ſo ordered by the *Roman Rituall*, *Ut laici a clericis, fœminæ a viris proſequantur ſe paratæ.* On the other ſide of the ſtreet went the Brethren *De la Charitè*, every one of them holding in his hand a little triangular Banner, or a Pennon; after them the boyes and wenches. In this method did they meaſure ſolemnly every lane and angle of the Town; the Prieſts ſinging, and all the people anſwering them in the ſame note. At the Church they began it with prayers, and having viſited all the Town, they returned again thither to end it with the ſame devotion. An action very grave and ſolemn, and ſuch as I could well allow of, were it not only for one prayer which is alwayes ſaid at the time of this performance, and the addition of the Banners. The Prayer is this: *Exaudi nos Deus ſalutaris noſter, & intercedente beatâ & glorioſa Viigine, & beato Sebaſtiano Martyre tuo* (this *Sebaſtian* is their *Æſculapius* or tutelary Saint againſt the Sickneſſe) *& omnibus Sanctis; populum tuum ab iracundiæ tuæ terroribus libera, & miſericordiæ tuæ fac largitate ſecurum, Amen.* This only excepted, there is nothing in all the liturgie of it, which can be offenſive to any conſcience, not idlely ſcrupulous. —— Theſe Proceſſions were

were first instituted by Pope *Stephanus* II. who began his Popedome *anno* 752. the intent of them, as *Platina* reporteth it, *Ad placandam Dei iram*. The first place that ever they went to in procession, was the Church of our Lady in the Shambles; or *Ad sanctam Dei genitricem ad præsepe*, as the Historiian calleth them. As for the Letany, which is a principall part of it, it was first compiled by *Mamercus* Bishop of *Vienna* in *Daulphine*, in the time of Pope *Leo* the first, which was 308 years before the time of *Stephanus*. The motive of it, was the often danger to which *France* was subject, by reason of the frequency of Earth-quakes. Since those beginnings, which were fair and commendable, the *Romish* Church hath added much to them of magnificence, and somewhat of impiety, and prophaneness. As for the Brethren *De la Charitè*, I could not learn any thing of their originall, but much of their Office; for they are bound to visit all such as are infected with the Plague, to minister unto them all things necessary, and if they die, to shrowde them and carry them to their graves. These duties they performe very willingly, as being possessed with this fancie, that they are priviledged from contagion, by virtue of their Order. And to say the truth, they are most of them old, and so lesse subject to it; and indeed such sapless, thin, unbodied fellowes, that one would think almost no disease could catch them. Yet hath their prerogative not always held to them; of 33 of them in *Calice*, three only surviving the disease, about four yeers since. But were the danger to which themselves are liable, all the inconveniency of it, I should not much disallow it. There is a greater mischief waiteth upon it, and that is, the infecting of others; they immediately after their return from the Pest house, mixing themselves with any of their neighbours. A most speedy means to spread the Pestilence, where it is once begun; though neither they nor the people will be perswaded to it.

The City or the high Town, standeth, as we have said, on the top of the hill, environed with deep ditches, a strong wall, and closed with a treble gate and two draw-bridges. A little small Town it is, not much above a flights shot

thwart, where it is wideſt; and hath in it but one Church beſides that of *Noſtre Dame*, which is Cathedrall. The ſtreets not many, and thoſe narrow, unleſſe it be in the Market-place, where the *Corpus du Guarde* is kept. What the outworks are, or whether it have any or no, I cannot ſay. Even in this time of League and Peace, their jealouſie will not permit an *Engliſh* man to walke their wals, either within or without the Town. A Caſtle they ſaid that it hath; but ſuch a one as ſerveth more for a dwelling then a Fort. The Garriſon of this Town conſiſteth of five Companies, 60 in a Company, which amount in all to 300: their Governour being Mr. *D' Aumont*, ſon to the Marſhall *D' Aumont*; who ſo faithfully adhered to *Henry* IV. in the beginning of his troubles. The cauſe why this Town being ſo ſmall, is ſo ſtrongly Garriſoned, is the ſafe keeping of the Haven which is under it, and the command of the paſſage from the Haven up into the Countrey. The firſt of the ſervices it can hardly performe, without much injury to the low Town, which ſtandeth between them: but for the ready diſcharge of the laſt, it is daintily ſeated, for though to ſpare the low Town, they ſhould permit an enemie to land; yet as ſoon as he is in his march up into the higher Countrey, their Ordinance will tear him into pieces.

But for the immediate ſecurity of the Haven, their Anceſtors did uſe to fortifie the old Tower, ſtanding on the top of the hill, called *La tour d' ordre*. It is ſaid to have been built by *Julius Cæſar*, at the time of his ſecond expedition into *Britaine*; this Haven being then named *Portus Geſſoriacus*. This Tower which we now ſee, ſeemeth to be but the remainder of a greater work; and by the height and ſituation of it, one would gueſſe it to have been the *Keepe* or *Watch-tower* unto the reſt. It is built of rude and vulgar ſtone, but ſtrongly cemented together, the figure of it is ſix ſquare, every ſquare of it being nine paces in length. A compaſſe too little for a Fortreſſe, and therefore it is long ſince it was put to that uſe; it now ſerving only as a Seamarke by day, and a *Pharos* by night; *Ubi accenſæ noctu faces navigantium curſum dirigunt*. The *Engliſh* man calleth it, *The old*

man

man of Boulogne, and not improperly, for it hath all the signes of age upon it. The Sea by undermining it, hath taken from it all the earth about two squares of the bottom of it; the stones begin to drop out from the top, and upon the least rising of the wind, you would think it were troubled with the Palsie. In a word, two hard Winters, seconded with a violent tempest, maketh it rubbish; what therefore is wanting of present strength to the Haven in this ruine of a Tower, the wisdome of this age hath made good in the Garrison. And here me thinks I might justly accuse the impolitick thrift of our former Kings of *England* in not laying out some money upon the strength and safety of our Haven Towns: not one of them, *Portesm uth* only excepted, being Garrisoned. True it is, that *Henry* VIII. did erect Blockhouses in many of them; but what bables they are, and how unable to resist a Fleet royally appointed, is known to every one. I know, indeed, we were sufficiently garrisoned by our Navy, could it either keep a watch on all particular places, or had it not sometimes occasion to be absent I hope our Kings are not of *Darius* mind in the story, *Qui gloriosius ratus est hostem repellere quam non admittere*; neither will I take upon me, to give counsell; only I could wish that we were not inferior to our neighbours, in the greatnesse of our care; since we are equall to the best of them in the goodnesse of our Countrey.

But though the old man was too old to performe this service, or to contribute any thing toward the defence of the Town and Haven, yet I conceived my self obliged to give him a visite; partly out of the reverent esteem which I had of *Antiquity*, but principally that I might from thence take a full view of my deareſt *England*, from which for want of winde and Company, I was then restrained. With these desires I made a boy of the Inne acquainted, who told me that there was no way but by the Pest-houses from the Town to the Tower, and that if we were noted to walke that way, we should both be presently shut up as infected persons, or committed to the custody of the *Brethren of Charity*, the worst condition

of the two. But finding the impatiencie of my desires not so easily satisfied, and the temptation of a *Quart d' escue*, not to be resisted; he told me that if I would venture to climb up the Rocks, as he and other boyes of the Town used to do sometimes, he would undertake to bring me thither. This offer I readily accepted, and as soon as the tide was low enough for us, we began our walke upon the *Beach* till we came to the bottom of the Rocks where the old man dwelt, and presently we began to mount, as if we meant to take the Fortresse by Scalado. I found the way more troublesome and dangerous then I had conceived, and my self before I came halfe way towards the top, which seemed still to be farther of then it was at the first, so vexed and bruised, that I began to be amazed at my own fool-hardinesse, and was many times in a minde to descend again; and questionlesse I had done accordingly, if a resolution of not giving over any enterprise which I was engaged in, and a fear least the boy would laugh at me when we came to the Town, had not pushed me on. Having breathed our selves a while, we advanced again. The old *cripple* who is fabled to have stolen *Pauls* weather-cock, used not more pains and cunning in climbing to the top of that lofty steeple, then we in mounting to the top of these mighty Rocks; which when we had attained at last, me thought I was much of the same humor with old *Tom* of *Odcombe* on the top of the *Alpes*, of whom the Poet hath informed us:

That to the top at last being got,
With very much adoe god wot;
He eagerly desired,
That mighty Jove *would take the pains*
To dash out their unworthy brains,
Who offered to be tired.

No sooner had my eyes got above the height of the Cliffes, but the first sight I met with was a row of Pest-houses

houſes not far diſtant, and ſome old women drying the infected cloathes on a bank adjoyning; the ſight whereof had almoſt made me recoil backward with more haſt then ſpeed. But having overcome the danger of that apprehenſion, I firſt ſaluted the old man, taking full notice of his great ſtature, old age, and many infirmities. That done, I turned my face toward *England*, which afforded me a moſt pleaſing object; the courſe thereof lying within my view at ſo great a length, that one might eaſily diſcerne from *Dover* Caſtle Eaſtward, to the Weſt of *Suſſex*: an object of ſo rich contentment and ſo full of raviſhing contemplations, that I was almoſt of his mind who ſaid *Bonum eſt nobis eſſe hic*; and certainly I had dwelt there longer, if the boy had not put me in mind that the flood was coming back amain (as indeed it was) and that if we made not ſpeed to recover the Town before it was got near the foot of the Rocks, we muſt of neceſſity be fain to abide there the greateſt part of the night till the ebb enſuing. On this advertiſement, there was no need to bid me haſten: but then a new humor ſeized upon me, when I beheld thoſe dreadfull precipices, which I was to deſcend, together with the infinite diſtance of the Beach from the top of the Rocks, the danger of being ſhut up by the ſea, if we made not haſt, and of tumbling into it if we did. But as curioſity had carryed me up, ſo neceſſity brought me down again, with greater ſafety, I confeſſe, then I had deſerved. This adventure being like ſome of thoſe actions of *Alexander* the great, whereof *Curtius* telleth us that they were, *magis ad temeritatis quam ad gloriæ famam.*

This Town of *Boulogne*, and the Countrey about it, was taken by *Henry* VIII. of *England*, *anno* 1545. himſelf being in perſon at the ſiege; a very coſtly and chargeable victory. The whole liſt of his Forces did amount to 44000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe; Field-pieces he drew after him above 100 beſides thoſe of ſmaller making: and for the conveyance of their Ordinance, Baggage and other proviſion, there were tranſported into the Continent,

above

above 25000 horſes. True it is, that his deſignes had a further aime, had not *Charles* the Emperor, with whm he was to joyne, left the field and made peace without him. So that, judging only by the ſucceſſe of the expedition, we cannot but ſay, that the winning of *Boulonnois* was a deer purchaſe. And indeed in this one particular Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Preface to his moſt excellent Hiſtory ſaith not amiſſe of him; namely, *That in his vain and fruitleſſe expeditions abroad, he conſumed more treaſure, then all the reſt of our Victorious Kings before him did in their ſeverall Conqueſts.* The other part of his cenſure concerning that Prince, I know not well what to think of, as meerly compoſed of gall and bitterneſſe. Onely I cannot but much marvell, that a man of his wiſdome, being raiſed from almoſt nothing by the daughter, could be ſo ſeverely invective againſt the Father; certainly a moſt charitable Judge cannot but condemne him of want of true affection and duty to his Queen: ſeeing that it is as his late Majeſty hath excellently noted in his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝΔΩΡΟΝ, *A thing monſtrous to ſee a man love the childe, and hate the Parents*; and therefore he earneſtly enjoyneth his ſon *Henry*, *To repreſſe the inſolence of ſuch as under pretence to taxe a vice in the perſon ſeek craftily to ſtain the race.*

Preſently after this taking of *Boulogne*, the *French* again endevoured their gaining of it, even during the life of the Conquerour; but he was ſtrong enough to keep his gettings. After his death, the *Engliſh* being engaged in a war againſt the *Scots*, and *Ket* having raiſed a rebellion in *Norfolke*, they began to hope a Conqueſt of it, and that more violently then ever. Upon news of their preparations, an Embaſſador was diſpatched to *Charles* the fifth, to deſire ſuccor of him, and to lay before him the infancy and ſeverall neceſſities of the young King, who was then about the age of ten years. This deſire when the Emperour had refuſed to hearken to, they beſought him, that he would at the leaſt be pleaſed to take into his hands and keeping, the Town

of

of *Boulogne*; and that for no longer time, then untill King *Edward* could make an end of the troubles of his Subjects at home. An easie request. Yet did he not only deny to satisfie the King in this, except he would restore the Catholick religion; but he also expresly commanded that neither his men or munition, should go to the assistance of the *English*. An ingratitude, for which I cannot finde a fitting epithite; considering what fast friends the Kings of *England* had alwayes been to the united houses of *Burgundie* and *Austria*; what moneys they have helped them with, and what sundry Warres they have made for them, both in *Belgium* to maintain their Authority, and in *France* to augment their potencie.

From the marriage of *Maximilian* of the family of *Austria*, with the Lady *Mary* of *Burgundy*, which happened in the yeere 1478. unto the death of *Henry* the eighth, which fell in the yeere 1548. are just 70 yeeres. In which time only it is thought by men of knowledge and experience, that it cost the Kings of *England*, at the least six millions of pounds, in the meer quarrels and defence of the Princes of those houses. An expence, which might seem to have earned a greater requitall, then that now demanded. Upon this denial of the unmindfull Emperour, a Treaty followed betwixt *England* and *France*. The effect of it was, that *Boulogne*, and all the Countrey of it should be restored to the *French*, they paying unto the *English*, at two dayes of payment 800000 Crownes. Other Articles there were, but this the principall. And so the fortune of young *Edward* in his beginning, was like that of *Julius Cæsar* towards his end, *Dum clementiam, quam præstiterat, expectat, incautus ab ingratis occupatus est.*

I am now at the point of leaving *Boulogne*, but must first reckon with mine Host, to whom we were growne into arrears since our first coming thither. Our stock was grown so low, when we came from *Paris*, that had not a *French* Gentleman whom we met at *Amiens* disbursed

for us, it would not have brought us to this Town, ſo that our Hoſt was fain to furniſh us with ſome monies to make even with him. After which ſtaying there from Sunday noon to Wednesday morning, and being then fain to make uſe of his credit alſo to provide of a Boat for *England* (which alone ſtood us in three pound) our engagements grew greater then he had any juſt reaſon to adventure on us. But being an ingenuous man, and ſeeing that we fared well, ſpent freely, and for the moſt part entertained him and his family at our table, he was the leſſe diffident of payment, as he told me afterwards. Having ſtayed three dayes for Company, and none appearing, we were fain to hire a boat expreſſe for my companion and my ſelf to paſſe over in. In order whereunto, I told him of our preſent condition, aſſured him that we had friends in *Dover* who would ſupply us with all things neceſſary (as indeed we had) that having ſummed up what we owed him, and what he had contracted for our paſſage over, he ſhould have a note under our hands for the payment of it, and that one of us ſhould remain priſoner in the Boat till the other raiſed money to redeem him. To which he anſwered, that we had carryed our ſelves like Gentlemen, which gave him no diſtruſt of a reall payment; that he would take if we pleaſed a Bill of our hands for the money to be paid in *Dover*; and deſired that we would give him leave to ſend over a ſervant in our Boat with a basket of poultery, who ſhould receive the money of us and give back our Bond. This being agreed upon, the next morning we took boat for *England*, the Mariners knowing nothing elſe, but that the ſervant went over only to ſell his Poultery (that being an opportunity frequently indulged by them unto thoſe of the Town) though we knew well enough he went on another errand; and as we could not but commend my Hoſt for his courteſie and his care taken of our credit, ſo we had reaſon to eſteem our ſelves in a kinde of cuſtody in that he would not let us ſtir without a Keeper. Nor did my Hoſt loſe any thing by his kindneſſe to us. For we not only paid him honeſtly,

honeſtly all his full demands, but beſtowed a reward upon his ſervant and ſent a preſent of Gloves and Knives (commoditles much prized in *France*) to his Wife and Daughters; that he might ſee we knew as well how to requite as receive a curteſie. Which ſaid, I muſt ſtep back into *France* again that having taken a brief view already of the Principall Provinces; I may render ſome accompt of the Government alſo in reference to the Courts, the Church and the Civill State.

The End of the Fourth Book.

A SURVEY OF THE STATE of FRANCE.

FRANCE GENERAL: OR, *THE FIFTH BOOK.*

Describing the Government of the Kingdom generally, in reference to the Court, the Church and the Civill Sate.

CHAP. I.

A transition to the Government of France *in generall. The person, age and marriage of King* Lewis XIII. *Conjecturall reasons of his being issueleſſe.* Iaqueline *Counteſſe of* Holland *kept from issue by the houſe of* Burgundy. *The Kings Siſters all married; and his alliances by them. His naturall Brethren, and their preferments. His lawfull Brother. The title of Monſeiur in* France. *Monſeiur as yet unmarried; not like to marry* Montpenſiers *daughter. That Lady a fit wife for the Earl of* Soiſſons. *The difference between him and the Prince of* Conde *for the Crown, in caſe the line of* Navarre *fail. How the Lords ſtand affected in the cauſe. Whether a child may be born in the* 11 *moneth. King* Henry IV. *a great lover of fair Ladies. Monſeiur* Barradas *the Kings favorite, his birth and offices. The omniregency of the Queen Mother; and the Cardinall of* Richileiu. *The Queen mother a wiſe and prudent woman.*

HAving thus taken a ſurvey of theſe four Provinces, which we may call the Abſtract and Epitome of the Realm of *France*; and having ſeen in them the temper, humors and conditions of the people of it: We will

next

next take a generall view of the Governors and Government thereof, with reference to the Court, the Church and the Civill State.

First for the Court, we muſt in reaſon in the firſt place begin with the perſon of the King, without whoſe influence and preſence, the Court is but a dead carkaſſe, void of life and Majeſty. For perſon he is of the middle ſtature, and rather well proportioned then large, his face knoweth little yet of a beard, but that which is black and ſwarty, his complexion alſo much of the ſame hew, carrying in it a certain boiſterouſneſſe, and that in a farther meaſure then what a graceſull majeſty can admit of, ſo that one can hardly ſay of him, without a ſpite of Courtſhip, which *Paterculus* did of *Tiberius*, *Quod viſus prætulerit principem*, that his countenance proclaimed him a King. But queſtionleſſe his greateſt defect is want of utterance, which is very unpleaſing, by reaſon of a deſperate and uncurable ſtammering; which defect is likely more and more to grow upon him. At this time he is aged 24 years and as much as ſince the 27 day of laſt *September*, which was his birth day; an age which he beareth not very plauſible; want of beard, and the ſwarthineſſe of his complexion, making him ſeem older. At the age of 11 years he was affianced to the Lady *Anna* Infanta of *Spain*, by whom as yet he hath no children. It is thought by many, and covertly ſpoken by divers in *France*, that the principall cauſe of the Queens barrenneſſe proceedeth from *Spain*; that people being loath to fall under the *French* obedience, which may very well happen, ſhe being the eldeſt Siſter of the King. For this cauſe in the ſeventh Article of the marriage, there is a clauſe, that neither the ſaid *Infanta* nor the children born by her (to the King) ſhall be capable to inherit any of the Eſtates of the King of *Spain*. And in the eight Article ſhe is bound to make an Act of Renunciation, under her own handwriting, as ſoon as ſhe cometh to be 12 years old, which was accordingly performed. But this being not ſufficient to ſecure their fears, it is thought, that ſhe was ſome way or other diſabled from conception before ever ſhe came into the Kings imbraces. A great crime, I confeſſe, if true; yet I cannot ſay with *Tully* in his defence of *Ligarius*, *Novum*

Crimen Cajæ Cæsar, & ante hoc tempus inauditum. *Iaqueline* Counteſſe of *Holland*, was Couſen to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, her fruitfulneſſe would have debarred him from thoſe Eſtates of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *West Friezland*; therefore though ſhe had three husbands, there was order taken ſhe ſhould never have child: with her firſt two husbands the Duke would never ſuffer her to live; and when ſhe had ſtolen a wedding with *Frane* of *Borſelle* one of her ſervants, the Dukes Phyſitians gave him ſuch a potion, that ſhe might have as well marryed an Eunuch; upon this injury, the poor Lady dyed, and the Duke ſucceeded in thoſe Countries: which by his Grandchilde *Mary*, were conveyed over into the houſe of *Auſtria*, together with the reſt of his eſtates. I dare not ſay that that Family hath inherited his practiſes with his Lands; and yet I have heard, that the *Infanta Iſabella* had the like or worſe meaſure afforded her before ſhe was bedded by the Arch-Duke *Albertus*. A Diabolicall trick which the proſtitutes of the Heathen uſed in the beginning of the Goſpell, and before; of whom *Octavius* complaineth, *Quod originem futuri hominis extinguant, & paricidium faciunt, antequam pariunt,* ——— Better luck then the King hath his Siſter beyond the Mountains, I mean his eldeſt Siſter Madam *Elizabeth*, marryed to the King of *Spain* now living, as being (or having been) the mother of two children. His ſecond Siſter Madam *Chriſtian*, is marryed unto *Amadeo Victor principe major*, or heir apparent to the Duke of *Savoy*: to whom as yet ſhe hath born no iſſue. The youngeſt Madam *Henrietta Maria* is newly marryed to his moſt Excellent Majeſty of *England*, to whom may ſhe prove of a moſt happy and fruitfull womb, *Et pulcra faciat te prole parentem.* Of theſe Alliances, the firſt were very profitable to both Princes, could there be made a marriage between the Kingdoms, as well as the Kings. But it is well known that the affections of each people are divided with more unconquerable mountains, then their Dominions. The *French* extreamly hating the proud humor and ambition of the *Spaniard*, and the *Spaniard* as much loathing the vain and unconſtant lightneſſe of the *French*; we may therefore account each of them, in theſe inter-marriages, to have rather intended the perpetuity of their particular houſes, then

the

the ſtrength of their Empires; and that they more deſired a noble ſtock wherein to graft poſterity, then power. The Alliance with *Savoy* is more advantagious, though leſſe powerfull, then that of *Spain*: for if the King of *France* can keep this Prince on his party, he need not fear the greatneſſe of the other, or of any of his faction. The continuall ſiding of this houſe with that of *Auſtria*, having given great and many impediments to the fortune of the *French*. It ſtandeth ſo fitly to countenance the affaires of either King in *Italy* or *Germany*, to which it ſhall encline, that it is juſt of the ſame nature with the ſtate of *Florence* between *Millaine* and *Venice*, of which *Guicciardine* ſaith, that *Mantennero le coſe d' Italia bilanciate*. On this reaſon *Henry* IV. earneſtly deſired to match one of his children into this Countrey, and left this deſire as a Legacy with his Councell. But the Alliance of moſt uſe to the State of *France*, is that of *England*, as being the higheſt and moſt able of all his neighbours; an alliance which will make his eſtate invincible, and encompaſſed about as it were with a wall of braſſe.

As for the Kings baſtard Brethren, they are four in number, and born of three ſeverall beds. The elder is *Alexander*, made Knight of the Order of St. *John* or of *Malta*, in the life time of his Father. He is now Grand Prior of *France*, and it is much laboured and hoped by the *French*, that he ſhall be the next Maſter of the Order; a place of great credit and command. The ſecond and moſt loved of his father, whoſe lively image and character he is ſaid to be, is Mr. *Ceſar* made Duke of *Vendoſme* by his father, and at this time Governeur of *Britain*, a man of a brave ſpirit, and one who ſwayeth much in the affairs of ſtate; his father took a great care for his advancement before his death, and therefore marryed him to the daughter and heir of the Duke of *Mercuer*, a man of great poſſeſſions in *Britain*. It is thought that the inheritance of this Lady, both by her Fathers ſide, and alſo by the Mothers, who was of the family of *Martiques*, being a ſtock of the old Ducall tree, is no leſſe then 200000 crownes yearly: both theſe were borne unto the King by Madam *Gabriele*, for her excellent beauty ſurnamed *La belle*,

Dutcheſſe

Dutcheſſe of *Beauforte*; a Lady whom the King entirely affected even to her laſt gaſpe, and one who never abuſed her power with him. So that one may truly ſay of her, what *Velleius* flatteringly ſpake of *Livia* the wife of *Auguſtus*, *Ejus potentiam nemo ſenſit, niſi aut levatione periculi, aut acceſſione dignitatis.* The third of the Kings naturall brethren, is Mr. *Henry* now Biſhop of *Metz* in *Lorreine*, and Abbot of St. *Germans* in *Paris*; as Abbot he is Lord of the goodly *Fauxbourg* of St. *Germans*, and hath the profit of the great Fair there holden, which make a large revenue. His Biſhoprick yeeldeth him the profits of 20000 Crowns and upwards, which is the remainder of 6000, the reſt being pauned unto the Duke of *Lorreine* by the laſt Biſhop hereof, who was of that Family. The mother of this Mr. *Henry*, is the Marchioneſſe of *Verneville*, who before the death of the King, fell out of his favour into the Priſon, and was not reſtored to her liberty, till the beginning of this Queen mothers Regency. The fourth and youngeſt is Mr. *Antonie*, born unto the King by the Counteſſe of *Marret*, who is Abbot of the Churches of *Marſeilles* and *Cane*, and hath as yet not fully out 6000 *l.* a year, when his mother dyeth he will be richer.

The Kings lawfull Brother is named *John Baptiſt Gaſton*, born the 25 of *Aprill*, *anno* 1608; a Prince of a brave and manlike aſpect; likely to inherit as large a part of his Fathers ſpirit, as the King doth of his Crown. He is intituled Duke of *Anjou*, as being the third Son of *France*; but his next elder Brother the Duke of *Orleans* being dead in his childhood, he is vulgarly and properly called *Monſeiur*. This title is different from that of *Daulphin*, in that that title only is appropriated to the Heir Apparent, being the Kings eldeſt Son living, this limited to the Heir Apparent being the Kings eldeſt Brother ſurviving; if there be neither Son nor Brother, then the next Heir Apparent is ſtyled only *Le primier Prince du ſang*, the firſt Prince of the bloud. This title of *Monſeiur* anſwereth unto that of *Deſpote* in the *Greek* Empire, and in imitation of that is thought to have been inſtituted. Others of the *French* Princes are called *Monſeiurs* alſo, but with ſome addition of place or honour. The Kings eldeſt Brother only is called *Monſeiur ſans queue*, as the *French* uſe

to

to say; that is, simply *Monseiur*. This young Prince is as yet unmarryed, but destinate to the bed of the young Dutchesse of *Montpensier*, whose Father dyed in the time of *Henry* IV. Had the Duke of *Orleans* lived, he had espoused her long ere this; but it is generally believed, that this Prince is not so affected; he seeth his elder Brother as yet childlesse, himself the next heir to the Crown, and it is likely he will look on a while, and expect the issue of his fortune. ——— Some that speak of the affairs of the Court, holdeth her a fitter match for the young Count of *Soissons*, a Prince of the bloud, and a Gentleman of a fine temper; the Lady her self is said not to be averse from the match; neither will the King not be inclinable unto him, as hoping therein to give him some satisfaction, for not performing a Court promise made unto him, as some say, about marrying the young Madam now Queen of *England*. As for the Count it cannot but be advantagious to him divers wayes, partly to joyne together the two families of *Montpensier* and *Soissons*, both issuing from the house of *Burbon*; partly to enrich himself by adding to his inheritance so fair an Estate; and partly by gaining all the friends aud allies of that Ladies kindred to his, the better to enable his opposition against the Prince of *Conde*; the difference between them standeth thus, *Lewis* the first Prince of *Conde*, had by two wives, amongst other children two Sons, by his first wife *Henry* Prince of *Conde*; by the second *Charles* Count of *Soissons*. *Henry* Prince of *Conde* had to his first wife *Mary* of *Cleve* daughter to the Duke of *Nevers*, by whom he had no children. To his second wife he took the Lady *Katharine* of *Tremoville*, sister to the Duke of *Thovars*, *anno* 1586. Two years after his marriage, he dyed of an old grief took from a poisoned cup, which was given him, *anno* 1552. and partly with a blow given him with a Lance at the battail of *Contras*, *anno* 1587. In the 11 moneth after his decease, his young Princesse was brought to bed with a young Son, which is the now Prince of *Conde*. *Charles* Count of *Soissons* in the reign of *Henry* IV. began to question the Princes Legitimation; whereupon the King dealt with the Parliament of *Paris* to declare the place of the first Prince of the Bloud, to belong to the Prince of *Conde*.

And for the clearer and more evident proof of the title, 24 Phyſitians of good faith and skill, made an open proteſtation upon oath in the Court, that it was not only poſſible, but common for women to be delivered in the 11 moneth. On this it was awarded to the Prince. —— This Decree of Parliament notwithſtanding, if ever the King and his Brother ſhould die iſſueleſſe, it is ſaid, that the young Count of *Soiſſons* (his father died *anno* 1614) will not ſo give over his title. He is Steward of the Kings houſe, as his Father alſo was before, a place of good credit, and in which he hath demeaned himſelf very plauſibly. In caſe it ſhould come to a tryall, *quod ut γένοιτο*, which God prohibit, he is like to make a great party, both within the Realm, and without it. Without it, by means of the houſe of *Savoy*, having matched his eldeſt Siſter unto *Don Thomazo* the ſecond ſon of that Dukedome now living, a brave man of armes, and indeed the faireſt fruit that ever grew on that tree; next heir of his father after the death of *Don Amadeo* yet childleſſe. Within the Realm, the Lords have already declared themſelves, which hapned on this occaſion. In the year 1620, the month of *March*, the King being to waſh, the Prince of *Conde* laid hold of the towell, challenging that honour as firſt Prince of the bloud; and on the other ſide, the Count of *Soiſſons* ſeized on it, as appertaining to his office of Steward, and Prince of the bloud alſo. The King to decide the controverſie for the preſent, commanded it to be given *Monſeiur* his Brother; yet did not this ſatisfie, for on the morning, the friends of both Princes came to offer their ſervice in the cauſe. To the Count came in generall all the oppoſites of the Prince of *Conde*, and of the Duke of *Luynes*, and *Guiſe*; in particular the Duke of *Maien*, the Duke of *Vendoſme*, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Eſpernon*, *Nemours*, the *Grand Prior*, the Dukes of *Thovars*, *Retz*, and *Rohan*, the Viſcount of *Aubeterre*, &c. who all withdrew themſelves from the Court, made themſelves maſters of the beſt places in their governments, and were united preſently to an open faction, of which the Queen Mother declared herſelf head. As for the Commons, without whom the Nobility may quarrel, but never fight, they are more zealous in behalf of the Count, as being brought

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up alwayes a Papiſt and born of a *Catholick* kindred, whereas the Prince, though at this inſtant a *Catholick*, yet *non fuit ſic ab initio*; he was born, they ſay, and brought up an *Hugonot*, and perhaps the alteration is but diſſembled.

Concerning the Prince of *Conde*, he hath a ſentence of Parliament on his ſide, and a verdict of Phyſitians, both weak helpes to a Soverainty, unleſſe well backed by the ſword. And for the verdict of the Phyſitians, thus the caſe is ſtated by the Doctors of that faculty; *Laurentius* a profeſſour of *Montpellier* in *Languedoc*, in his excellent Treatiſe of *Anatomie*, maketh three terms of a womans delivery: *primus*, *intermedius* and *ultimus*. The firſt is the ſeventh moneth after conception, in each of which the childe is vitall, and may live if it be borne. To this alſo conſenteth the Doctor of their chaire *Hippocrates*, ſaying, παιδίον ἑπτάμηνον γόνον γενόμενον ζῇ, that a child born in the ſeventh moneth, if it be well looked to, may live. We read alſo how in *Spain*, the women are oftentimes lightned in the end of the ſeventh moneth, and commonly in the end of the eight. And further, that *Sempronius* and *Corbulo*, both *Roman* Conſuls, were born in the ſeventh moneth, *Pliny* in his Naturall Hiſtory reporteth it as a truth; though perchance the women which told him, either miſreckoned their time, or elſe diſſembled it to conceal their honeſties. The middle time (*terminus intermedius*) is in the ninth and tenth moneths, at which time children do ſeldome miſcarry. In the former two moneths, they had gathered life; in theſe latter, they only conſummate ſtrength, ſo ſaid the Phyſitians generally. *Non enim in duobus ſequentibus menſibus* (they ſpeak it of the *intermedii*) *additur aliquod ad perfectionem partium, ſed perfectionem roboris.* The laſt time (*terminus ultimus*) in the common account of this profeſſion, is the eleaventh moneth, which ſome of them hold neither unlikely, nor rare. *Maſſurius* recordeth *Papirius* a *Roman* Prætor, to have recovered his inheritance in open Court, though his Mother confeſſed him to be borne in the thirteeenth moneth. And *Avicen* a *Moore* of *Corduba* relateth (as he is cited in *Laurentius*) that he had ſeen a a childe born after the fourteenth. But theſe are but the

impoſtures of women: and yet, indeed, the modern Doctors are more charitable, and refer it to ſupernaturall cauſes, Et *extraordinariam artis conſideratione*m. On the other ſide, *Hippocrates* giveth it out definitively, ἐν δέκα μησὶ γίνεσθαι ταῦτα τὸ μακρότατον, that in ten moneths at the furtheſt (underſtand ten moneths compleat) the childe is borne. And *Ulpian*, the great Civilian of his times, in the title of the *Digeſts de Teſtamentis*, is of opinion, that a childe born after the tenth moneth (compleat) is not to be admitted to the inheritance of his pretended father. As for the Common Law of *England*, as I remember (I have read it in a book written of Wils and Teſtaments) it taketh a middle courſe between the charity of nature, and the ſeverity of the Law; leaving it meerly to the conſcience and circumſtance of the Judge.

But all this muſt be conceived (as it was afterwards alleaged by the party of the Earl of *Soiſſons*, taking it in the moſt favourable conſtruction) of the time after the conception of the mother, and by no means after the death of the Father: and ſo no way to advantage the Prince of *Conde*. His Father had been extremely ſick no ſmall time before his death, for the particular, and ſuppoſed ſince his poiſon taken *anno* 1552. to be little prone to women in the generall. They therefore who would have him ſet beſides the Cuſhion, have cunningly, but maliciouſly, cauſed it to be whiſppered abroad, that he was one of the by-blowes of King *Henry* IV. and to make the matter more ſuſpiciouſly probable, they have caſt out theſe conjectures for it; but being but conjectures only, and proſecuted for the carrying on of ſo great a project, they were not thought to be convincing, or of any conſiderable weight or moment amongſt ſober and impartiall men. They therefore argued it,

Firſt, From the Kings care of his education, aſſigning him for his Tutor *Nicholas de Febure*, whom he alſo deſigned for his Son King *Lewis*.

Secondly, From his care to work the Prince, then young, *Mollis et aptus agi*, to become a Catholick.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The infirmity of *Henry* of *Conde*, and the privacy of this King with his Lady, being then King of *Navarre*, in the prime of his ſtrength, and in diſcontent with the Lady *Marguerite* of *Valoys* his firſt wife; add to this that Kings love to fair Ladies in the generall, and then conclude this probability to be no miracle. For beſides the Dutcheſſe of *Beauforte*, the Marchioneſſe of *Verneville*, and the Counteſſe of *Morret* already mentioned; he is believed to have been the Father of Mr. *Luynes* the great favourite of King *Lewis*. And certain it is, that the very year before his death, when he was even in the winter of his days, he took ſuch an amorous liking to the Prince of *Condes* wife, a very beautifull Lady, and daughter to the Conſtable, Duke of *Montmorencie*; that the Prince to ſave his honour was compelled to flie, together with his Princeſſe, into the Arch-Dukes Countrey; whence he returned not, till long after the death of King *Henry*. If *Mary de Medices* in her husbands life time, had found her ſelf agrieved it, I cannot blame her, ſhe only made good that of *Quintilian*, *Et uxor mariti exemplo incitata, aut imitari ſe putet aut vindicare*. And yet perhaps a conſciouſneſſe of ſome injuries, not only mooved her to back the Count of *Soiſſons* and his faction againſt the Prince and his; but alſo to reſolve upon him for the husband of her daughter —— From the Princes of the bloud, deſcend we to the Princes of the Court; and there in the firſt place we meet with Mr. *Barradas*, the Kings preſent favourite; a young Gentleman of a freſh and lively hew, little bearded and one whom as yet the people cannot accuſe for any oppreſſion or miſgovernment. Honours, the King hath conferred none upon him, but only penſions and offices; he is the Governour of the Kings children of honour, (Pages we call them in *England*) a place of more trouble then wealth or credite. He is alſo the Maſter of the horſe, or *Le grand Eſcuire*, the eſteem of which place recompenſeth the emptineſſe of the other; for by vertue of this office, he carryeth the Kings ſword ſheathed before him at his entrances into *Paris*. The cloth of eſtate carryed over the King by the *Provoſt* and *Eſchevins*, is his fee. No man can be the Kings ſpurmaker, his Smith, or have any place in the Kings Stables, but from him, and the like. This place (to note ſo much by the way) was

taken out of the Conſtables office, (*Comes ſtabuli* is the true name) to whom it properly belonged, in the time of *Charles* VII. Beſides this, he hath a Penſion of 500000 Crowns yearly; and had an office given him, which he ſold for 100000 Crowns in ready money. A good fortune for one, who the other day was but the Kings Page.

And to ſay truth, he is as yet but a little better, being only removed from his ſervant to be his play-fellow. With the affairs of State he intermedleth not, if he ſhould, he might expect the Queen mother ſhould ſay to him, what *Apollo* in *Ovid* did to *Cupid*:

——— *Tibi quid cum fortibus armis*
Mi puer? iſta decent humeros geſtamina noſtros.

For indeed firſt during her Sons minority, and after ſince her reintegration with him, ſhe hath made her ſelf ſo abſolute a miſtreſſe of his mind, that he hath intruſted to her the entire conduct of all his moſt weighty affaires. For her aſſiſtant in the managing of her greateſt buſineſs, ſhe hath peeced her ſelf to the ſtrongeſt ſide of the State, the Church; having principally (ſince the death of the Marſhal *D'Ancre*, I mean) aſſumed to her counſels the Cardinall of *Richileiu*, a man of no great birth, were Nobility the greateſt parentage; but otherwiſe to be ranked amongſt the nobleſt. Of a ſound reach he is, and a cloſe brain; one exceedingly well mixt of a lay underſtanding, and a Church habit; one that is compleatly skilled in the art of men, and a perfect maſter of his own mind and affections; him the Queen uſeth as her Counſellour, to keep out frailty; and the Kings name as her countenance to keep off envie. She is of a *Florentine* wit, and hath in her all the virtues of *Katharine de Medices*, her Anceſtor in her Regency, and ſome alſo of her vices; only her deſignes tend not to the ruine of the Kingdome and her children. *Joan de Seirres* telleth us in his *Inventaire of France* how the Queen *Katharine* ſuffered her ſon *Henry* III. a devout and a ſupple Prince, to ſpend his moſt dangerous times, even uncontrouled upon his beads; whileſt in the mean time, ſhe uſurped the Government of the Realm. Like it is that Queen *Mary* hath learned

ſo

ſo much of her Kinſwoman, as to permit this ſon of hers to ſpend his time alſo amongſt his play-fellowes and the birds, that ſhe may the more ſecurely manage the State at her diſcretion. And to ſay nothing of her untrue or misbecoming her vertue, ſhe hath notably well diſcharged her ambition; the Realm of *France*, being never more quietly and evenly governed, then firſt during her Regencie, and now during the time of her favour with the King. For during his minority ſhe carryed her ſelf ſo fairly between the factions of the Court, that ſhe was of all ſides honoured; the time of this Marqueſſe *D' Ancre* only excepted; and for the differences in Religion, her moſt earneſt deſire was not to oppreſſe the Proteſtants, inſomuch that the war raiſed againſt them, during the command of Mr. *Luynes*, was preſently after his death, and her reſtoring into grace ended. An heroicall Lady, and worthy the report of poſterity; the frailties and weakneſſe of her, as a woman, not being accounted hers, but her ſexes.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

Two Religions ſtrugling in France, *like the two twins in the womb of* Rebecca. *The compariſon between them two, and thoſe in the generall. A more particular ſurvey of the Papiſts Church in* France, *in Policie, Priviledge and Revenue. The complaint of the Clergy to the King. The acknowledgment of the* French *Church to the Pope meerly titular. The pragmatick ſanction,* Maxima tua fatuitas, *and* Conventui Tridentino, *ſeverally written to the Pope and Trent Councell. The tedious quarrell about Inveſtitures. Four things propounded by the Parliament to the Jeſuites. The* French *Biſhops not to medle with Fryers, their lives and land. The ignorance of the* French *Prieſts. The Chanoins Latine in* Orleans. *The* French *not hard to be converted, if plauſibly humoured,* &c.

FRom the Court of the King of *France*, I cannot better provide for my ſelf then to have recourſe to the King of heaven; and though the Poet meant not *Exeat aula qui vult eſſe pius*, in that ſenſe, yet will it be no treaſon for me to apply it ſo. And even in this, the Church, which ſhould be like the Coat of its Redeemer, without ſeam; do I finde rents and factions: and of the two, theſe in the Church more dangerous then thoſe in the *Louure*. I know the ſtory of *Rebecca*, and of the children ſtrugling in her, is generally applyed to the births and contentions of the Law and the

the Gospel; in particular we may make use of it in expressing the State of the Church and Religions of *France*: for certain it is, that here were divers pangs in the womb of the *French* Church before it was delivered. And first she was delivered of *Esau*, the *Popish* faith being first after the strugling countenanced by authority; *And he came out red all over like an hairy garment*, saith the text, which very appositely expresseth the bloudy and rough condition of the *French* Papists at the birth of the Reformation, before experience and long acquaintance had bred a liking between them. *And after came his Brother out, which laid hold on Esaus heel, and his name was called Jacob*; wherein is described the quality of the Protestant party, which though confirmed by publick Edict after the other, yet hath it divers times endevoured, and will perhaps one day effect, the tripping up of the others heels. *And Esau* (saith *Moses*) *was a cunning hunter, a man of the field*; *and Jacob a plain man, dwelling in tents*: in which words the comparison is made exact. *A cunning hunter*, in the Scripture signifieth, *a man of art and power mingled*; as when *Nimrod* in *Genesis* 10. is termed *a mighty hunter*. Such is the Papist, a side of greater strength and subtility, a side of war and of the field; on the other side the Protestants are a plain race of men, simple in their actions, without craft and fraudulent behaviours, and dwelling in tents, that is, having no certain abiding place, no Province which they can call theirs; but living dispersed and scattered over the Countrey; which in the phrase of the Scripture is *dwelling in tents*. As for the other words differencing the two brethren, *and the elder shall serve the younger*, they are rather to be accounted a Prophesie then a Character; we must therefore leave the analogie it holds with this *Rebecca* of *France* and her two children, to the event and to prayer.

For a more particular insight into the strength and subtilty of this *Esau*, we must consider it in the three main particular strengths of it; its Polity, Priviledges and Revenue. For the first, so it is that the Popish Church in *France* is governed like those of the first and purest times, by *Archbishops* and *Bishops*. *Archbishops* it comprehendeth 12, and of *Bishops* 104; of these the Metropolitan is he of *Rheimes*, who

uſeth to anoint the Kings, which office and preheminence hath been annexed unto this ſeat ever ſince the times of St. *Remigius* Biſhop hereof, who converted *Clovis* King of the *Franks* unto the Goſpell. The preſent Primate is ſon unto the Duke of *Guiſe*, by name *Henry de Lorrain*, of the age of 14 years or thereabouts, a burden too unweildie for his ſhoulders.

——Et quæ non viribus iſtis
Munera conveniunt, nec tam puerilibus annis.

For the better government therefore of a charge ſo weighty, they have appointed him a Coadjutor to diſcharge that great function till he come to age to take orders. His name is *Gifford* an *Engliſh* fugitive, ſaid to be a man worthy of a great fortune, and able to bear it. The revenues of this Archbiſhoprick are ſomewhat of the meaneſt, not amounting yearly to above 10000 Crowns, whereof Dr. *Gifford* receiveth only 2000, the remainder going to the *Caidet* of *Lorreine*. This trick the *French* learn of the Proteſtants in *Germany*, where the Princes after the Reformation began by *Luther*, took in the power and Lordſhips of the Biſhops, which together with their functions, they divided into two parts. The lands they beſtowed upon ſome of their younger ſons or kinſmen, with the title of *Adminiſtrator*; the office and pains of it they conferred with ſome annuall penſion, on one of their Chaplaines, whom they ſtyled the *Superintendent* of the Biſhoprick. This Archbiſhop together with the reſt of the Biſhops have under them their ſeverall Chancellours, Commiſſaries, Archdeacons, and other officers attending in their Courts; in which their power is not ſo generall as with us in *England*. Matters of teſtament never trouble them, as belonging to the Court of Parliament; who alſo have wreſted to their own hands almoſt all the buſineſſe of importance; ſure I am, all the cauſes of profit originally belonging to the Church, the affairs meerly Epiſcopall and ſpirituall are left unto them, as granting Licence for Marriages, puniſhing whoredome by way of penance and the like; to go beyond this were *ultra crepidam*, and they ſhould be ſure

to

to have a *prohibition* from the Parliaments. Of their priviledges the chiefeſt of the Clergy men is, the little or no dependence upon the Pope, and the little profits they pay unto their King; of the Pope anon; to the King they pay only their Diſmes, or Tithes according to the old rate; a ſmall ſum if compared unto the payments of their neighbours; it being thought that the King of *Spain* receiveth yearly one half of the living of the Churches; but this I mean of their livings only, for otherwiſe they pay the uſuall gabels and cuſtomes, that are paid by the reſt of the Kings liege people. In the generall aſſembly of the three Eſtates the Clergy hath authority to elect a ſet number of Commiſſioners, to undertake for them and the Church; which Commiſſioners do make up the firſt of the three Eſtates, and do firſt exhibit their grievances and Petitions to the King. In a word, the *French* Church is the freeſt of any in Chriſtendome, that have not yet quitted their ſubjection to the Pope, as alwayes proteſting againſt the Inquiſitions, not ſubmitting themſelves to the Councell of *Trent*, and paying very little to his Holineſſe, of the plentifull revenue, wherewith God and good men have bleſſed it.

The number of thoſe which the Church Land maintaineth in *France* is *tantum non* infinite, therefore the Intrado and Revenue of it muſt needs be uncountable. There are numbred in it, as we ſaid before, 12 Archbiſhops, 104 Biſhopricks; to theſe add 540 Archpriories, 1450 Abbies, 12320 Priories, 567 Nunneries, 700 Covents of Fryers, 259 Commendames of the order of *Malta*, and 130000 Pariſh Prieſts. Yet this is not all, this reckoning was made in the year 1598. Since which time the Jeſuits have divers Colledges founded for them, and they are known to be none of the pooreſt. To maintain this large wilderneſſe of men, the Statiſtes of *France*, who have proportioned the Countrey; do allow unto the Clergy almoſt a fourth part of the whole. For ſuppoſing *France* to contain 200 millions of Arpens (a meaſure ſomewhat bigger then our Acre) they have allotted to the Church for its temporall revenue, 47 of them. In particular of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Pariſh Prieſts, they of *Aux*, *Alby*, *Cluniac* and

St. *Eſtiennes* in *Paris*, are ſaid to be the wealthyeſt; the Archbiſhoprick of *Aux* in *Gaſcoine* is valued at 400000 Livres or 40000 *l. Engliſh* yearly. The Biſhop of *Alby* in *Lanquedoc*, is prized at 10000 Florens, which is a fourth part of it; a great part of this revenue riſing out of Saffron. The Abbot of *Cluniac* in the Dutchie of *Burgundy*, is ſaid to be worth 50000 Crowns yearly; the preſent Abbot being *Henry* of *Lorreine*, Archbiſhop of *Rheimes*, and Abbot of St. *Dennis*. The Pariſh Prieſt of St. *Eſtiennes*, is judged to receive yearly no fewer then 8000 Crowns, a good Intrado. As for the vulgar Clergy they have little Tithe and leſſe Glebe, moſt part of the revenue being appropriated unto *Abbeys* and other Religious houſes; the greateſt part of their means is the *Baiſſe-maine*, which is the Church-offerings of the people at Chriſtnings, Marriages, Burials, Dirges, Indulgences, and the like; which is thought to amount to almoſt as much as the temporall eſtate of the Church, an income able to maintain them in good abundance, were it not for the greatneſſe of their number; for reckoning that there are (as we have ſaid) in *France* 130000 Pariſh Prieſts, and that there are only 27400 Pariſhes; it muſt of neceſſity be, that every Pariſh one with another muſt have more then four Prieſts; too many to be rich.

But this were one of the leaſt injuries offered to the *French* thrift, and would little hinder them from riſing, if it were not that the goodlieſt of their preferments were before their faces given unto boyes and children. An affront which not only deſpoileth them of the honors due unto their calling, but diſheartneth them in their ſtudies and by conſequence draweth them unto debauched and ſlanderous courſes.

——Quis enim virtutem exquireret ipſam,
Præmia ſi tollas?——

The Clergy therefore *anno* 1617. being aſſembled at the houſe of *Auſtin Fryers* in *Paris* (as every two years they uſe to do) being to take their leaves of the King, elected the Biſhop of *Aire* to be their ſpokeſman; and to certifie his Majeſty

Majesty of their grievances. In performing which businesse, the principall thing of which he spake was to this purpose; That whereas his Majesty was bound to give them fathers, he gave them children; that the name of Abbot signifieth a Father; and the function of a Bishop is full of fatherly authority: that *France* notwithstanding was now filled with Bishops and Abbots, which are yet in their Nurses armes, or else under their Regents in Colledges; nay more, that the abuse goeth before their being; Children being commonly designed to Bishopricks and Abbacies, before they were born. He made also another complaint, that the Soveraign Courts by their decrees, had attempted upon the authority which was committed to the Clergy, even in that which meerly concerned Ecclesiasticall discipline and government of the Church. To these complaints he gave them, indeed, a very gracious hearing, but it was no further then an hearing, being never followed by redresse. The Court of Parliament knew too well the strength of their own authority, and the King was loath to take from himself those excellent advantages of binding to himself his Nobility, by the speedy preferring of their children; and so the clergie departed with a great deal of envy, and a little satisfaction. Like enough it were, that the Pope would in part redresse this injury, especially in the point of jurisdiction, if he were able. But his wings are shrewdly clipped in this Countrey, neither can he fly at all, but as far as they please to suffer him. For his temporall power they never could be induced to acknowledge it, as we see in their stories, *anno* 1610. the Divines of *Paris* in a Declaration of theirs tendred to the Queen Mother, affirmed the *supremacie* of the *Pope*, to be an *Erroneous Doctrine*, and the ground of that *hellish position of deposing and killing of Kings*. *Anno* 1517. when the Councell of *Lateran* had determined the Pope to be the head of the Church in causes also temporall: the University of *Paris* testifieth against it in an Apology of theirs, Dated the 12 of *March* the same year; *Leo decimus* (saith the Apology) *in quodam cœtu, non tamen in Spiritu Domini congregato, contra fidem Catholicam*, &c. *Sacrum Basilienſe concilium damnavit.* In which councell of *Basil*, the Supremacy of the Pope was condem-

ned. Neither did the Kings of *France* forget to maintain their own authority. And therefore when as Pope *Boniface* VIII. had in a peremptory Letter, written to *Philip le Bell* King of *France*, ſtyled himſelf *Dominus totius mundi tam in temporalibus quam in ſpiritualibus*: the King returned him an anſwer with an Epithite ſutable to his arrogancy, *Sciat maxima tua fatuitas nos in temporalibus alicui non ſubeſſe*, &c. The like anſwer, though in modeſter termes, was ſent to another of the Popes, by St. *Lewis*, a man of a moſt milde and ſweet diſpoſition, yet unwilling to forgoe his royalties.

His ſpirituall power is alwayes as little in ſubſtance, though more in ſhew; for whereas the Councell of *Trent* hath been an eſpeciall authorizer of the Popes ſpirituall ſupremacy; the *French* Church would never receive it. By this means the Biſhops keep in their hands, their own full authority; whereof an obedience to the decrees of that Councell would deprive them. It was truely ſaid by St. *Gregory*, and they well knew it, *Lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 70. *Si unus univerſalis eſt, reſtat ut vos Epiſcopi non ſitis.* Further the Univerſity of *Paris* in their Declaration, *anno* 1610 above mentioned, plainly affirme, that it is directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of the Church which the Univerſity of *Paris* alwayes maintained, that the Pope hath the power of a Monarch in the ſpirituall government of the Church. To look upon higher times, when the Councell of *Conſtance* had ſubmitted the authority of the Pope unto that of a Councell; *John Gerſon, Theologus Pariſienſis magni nominis*, as one calleth him, defended that decree: and intituleth them, *Pernicioſos admodum eſſe adulatores qui tyrannidem iſtam in Eccleſiam invexere, quaſi nullis legum teneatur vinculis, quaſi neque parere debeat concilio Pontifex, nec ab eo judicari queat.* The Kings themſelves alſo befriend their Clergy in this cauſe; and therefore not only proteſted againſt the Councell of *Trent*, wherein this ſpirituall tyranny was generally conſented to by the Catholick faction. But *Henry* II. alſo would not acknowledge them to be a Councell, calling them by another name then *Conventus Tridentinus*. An indignity which the Fathers took very offenſively.

But

But the principall thing in which it behoveth them not to acknowledge his ſpirituall Supremacy, is the collation of Benefices and Biſhopricks, and the Annats and firſt fruits thence ariſing. The firſt and greateſt controverſie between the Pope and Princes of Chriſtendome, was about the beſtowing the livings of the Church, and giving the inveſture unto Biſhops; the Popes had long thirſted after that authority, as being a great means to advance their followers, and eſtabliſh their own greatneſſe: for which cauſe in divers petty Councels, the receiving of any Eccleſiaſticall preferment of a Lay man was enacted to be *Simony*. But this did little edifie with ſuch patrons as had good livings. As ſoon as ever *Hildebrande*, in the Catalogue of the Popes called *Gregory* VII. came to the Throne of *Rome*, he ſet himſelf entirely to effect this buſineſſe as well in *Germany*, now he was Pope, as he had done in *France* whileſt he was Legat; he commandeth therefore *Henry* III. Emperour, *Ne deinceps Epiſcopatus & beneficia* (they are *Platinas* own words) *per cupiditatem Simoniacam committat; aliter ſe uſurum in ipſum cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis*. To this injuſtice, when the Emperour would not yeeld, he called a ſolemn Councell at the *Lateran*; wherein the Emperour was pronounced to be *Simoniacall*, and afterwards Excommunicated; neither would this Tyrant ever leave perſecuting of him, till he had laid him in his grave. After this there followed great ſtrugling for this matter, between the Popes and the Emperours; but in the end the Popes got the victory. In *England* here, he that firſt beckoned about it was *William Ruſus*; the controverſie being, whether he or Pope *Urban* ſhould inveſt *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Anſelme* would receive his inveſture from none but the Pope, whereupon the King baniſhed him the Realm, into which he was not admitted till the Reign of *Henry* II. He to endeer himſelf with his Clergy, relinquiſhed his right to the Pope, but afterwards repenting himſelſe of it, he revoked his grant; neither did the *Engliſh* Kings wholly loſe it, till the reign of that unfortunate prince King *John*. *Edward* the firſt again recovered it, and his ſucceſſors kept it.

The

The Popes having with much violence and oppoſition wreſted into their hands, this priviledge of nominating Prieſts and inveſting Biſhops, they ſpared not to lay on what taxes they pleaſed; as on the Benefices, firſt fruits, penſions, ſubſidies, fifteenths, tenths; and on the Biſhopricks for palles, miters, croſiers, rings, and I know not what bables. By theſe means the Churches were ſo impoveriſhed, that upon complaint made to the Councell of *Baſil*, all theſe cheating tricks, theſe *aucupia & expilandi rationes*, were aboliſhed. This decree was called *Pragmatica ſanctio*, and was confirmed in *France* by *Charles* VII. *anno* 1438. An act of ſingular improvement to the Church and Kingdome of *France*; which yearly before, as the Court of Parliament manifeſted to *Lewis* XI. had drained the State of a million of Crowns; ſince which time the Kings of *France* have ſometimes omitted the rigor of this ſanction, and ſometimes alſo exacted it, according as their affairs with the Pope ſtood; for which cauſe it was called *Frænum pontificum*. At laſt King *Francis* I. having conquered *Millaine*, fell into this compoſition with his Holineſſe; namely, that upon the falling of any Abbacy or Biſhoprick, the King ſhould have 6 months time allowed him to preſent a fit man unto him, whom the Pope ſhould legally inveſt. If the King neglected his time limited, the Pope might take the benefit of the relapſe, and inſtitute whom he pleaſed. So is it alſo with the inferior Benefices, between the Pope and the Patrons; inſomuch that any or every Lay-patron, and Biſhop together in *England*, hath for ought I ſee (at the leaſt in this particular) as great a ſpirituall Supremacy, as the Pope in *France*.

Nay to proceed further, and ſhew how meerly titular both his ſupremacies are, as well the ſpirituall as the temporall, you may plainly ſee in the caſe of the Jeſuites, which was thus: In the year 1609 the Jeſuites had obtained of King *Henry* IV. licence to read again in their Colledges of *Paris*; but when their Letters patents came to be verified in the Court of Parliament, the Rector and Univerſity oppoſed them, on the 17 of *December*, 1611. both parties came to have an hearing, and the Univerſity got the day, unleſſe the Jeſuites would ſubſcribe unto theſe four points. *viz.*

1. That a Councell was above the Pope.

2. That

2. That the Pope had no temporall power over Kings, and could not by Excommunication deprive them of their Realm and Eſtates.

3. That Clergy men having heard of any attempt or conſpiracy againſt the King or his Realm, or any matter of treaſon in confeſſion, he was bound to reveal it.

And 4. That Clergy men were ſubject to the ſecular Prince or politick Magiſtrate. It appeared by our former diſcourſe, what little or no power they had left the Pope over the Eſtates and preferments of the *French*.

By theſe Propoſitions (to which the Jeſuites in the end ſubſcribed, I know not with what mentall reſervation) it is more then evident, that they have left him no command neither over their conſciences, nor their perſons; ſo that all things conſidered, we may juſtly ſay of the Papall power in *France*, what the Papiſts ſaid falſly of *Eraſmus*, namely that it is *Nomen ſine rebus*.

In one thing only his authority here is intire, which is his immediate protection of all the orders of Fryers, and alſo a ſuperintendency or ſupreme eye over the Monks, who acknowledge very ſmall obedience, if any at all, to the *French* Biſhops: for though at the beginning every part and member of the Dioceſſe, was directly under the care and command of the Biſhop; yet it ſo happened that at the building of Monaſteries in the Weſtern Church, the Abbots being men of good parts and a ſincere life, grew much into the envie of their Dioceſan. For this cauſe, as alſo to be more at their own command, they made ſuit to the Pope that they might be free from that ſubjection, *Utque in tutelam divi Petri admitterentur*; a propoſition very plauſible to his Holineſſe ambition, which by this means might the ſooner be raiſed to its height; and therefore without difficulty granted. This gap opened, firſt the ſeverall orders of Fryers; and after even the Deans and Chapters, purchaſed to themſelves the like exemptions. In this the Popes power was wonderfully ſtrengthned, as having ſuch able, and ſo main props to uphold his authority; it being a true Maxime in State, *Quod qui privilegia obtinent, ad eadem conſervanda tenentur authoritatem concedentis tueri.* This continued till the Councell of *Trent*

unquestioned. Where the Bishops much complained of their want of authority, and imputed all the Schismes and Vices in the Church, unto this, that their hands were tyed; hereupon the Popes Legats thought it fit to restore their jurisdiction, their Deans and Chapters. As that of the Monks and Monasteries, there was more sticking, till at the last *Sebastian Pighinus*, one of the Popes officers, found out for them this satisfaction; that they should have an eye and inspection into the lives of the Monks, not by any authority of their own, *Sed tanquam a sede Apostolica delegati.* But as for the Orders of Fryers, the Pope would not by any means give way to it. They are his *Janizaries*, and the strongest bulwarke of his Empire, and are therefore called in a good Author, *Egregia Romanæ curiæ instrumenta.* So that with them the Diocesan hath nothing to do, each several religious house being as a Court of *Peculiars*, subjects only to the great Metropolitan of *Rome.*

This meer dependence on his Holinesse, maketh this generation a great deal more regardlesse of their behaviour, then otherwise it would be: though since the growth of the Reformation, shame and fear hath much reformed them, they have still howsoever, a spice of their former wantonnesse, and on occasions will permit themselves a little good fellowship; and to say truth of them, I think them to be the best companions in *France* for a journey, but not for acquaintance. They live very merrily, and keep a competent table, more I suppose then can stand with their vow; and yet far short of that affluency whereof many of our books accuse them. It was my chance to be in a house of the *Franciscans* in *Paris*, where one of the Fryers upon the intreaty of our friends, had us into the hall, it being then the time of their *refectory*; a favour not vulgar; there saw we the Brothers sitting all of a side, and every one a pretty distance from the other, their severall commons being a dish of pottage, a chop of Mutton, a dish of cherries, and a large glasse of water: this provision together with a liberall allowance of ease, and a little of study keepeth them exceeding plump and in a good liking, and maketh them, having little to take thought for, as I said before, passing good company. As I travailed towards *Orleans*

we

we had in our Coach with us three of these mortified sinners, two of the Order of St. *Austin*, and one *Franciscan*; the merryest crickets that ever chirped, nothing in them but mad tales and complements; and for musick, they would sing like hawkes. When we came to a vein of good wine they would cheer up themselves and their neighbours with this comfortable Doctrine, *Vivamus ut bibamus, & bibamus ut vivamus.* And for courtship and toying with the wenches, you would easily believe that it had been a trade with which they had not been a little acquainted; of all men, when I am marryed, God keep my wife from them, till then, my neighbours.

On the other side, the common Priests of *France*, are so dull and blockish, that you shal hardly meet with a more contemptible people. The meanest of our Curates in *England*, for spirit and discourse, are very Popes to them; for learning they may safely say with *Socrates*, *Hoc tantum scimus quod nescimus*; but you must not look they should say it in Latine. Tongues they have none but that of their Mother and the Masse book: of which last they can make no use except the book be open, and then also the book is fain to read it self. For in the last *Romanum Missale*, established by *Pius* V. and recognized by *Clement* VIII. *anno* 1600. every syllable is diversly marked, whether it be sounded long or short; just as the versifying examples are in the end of the Grammar. When I had lost my self in the streets of *Paris*, and wanted *French* to enquire homeward, I used to apply my self to some of these reverend habit. But *O seclum insipiens & infacetum!* you might as easily have wrung water out of the flint, as a word of Latine out of their mouths. Nor is this the disease of the vulgar Masse mumbler only, it hath also infected the right Worshipfull of the Clergy. In *Orleans* I had business with a Chanoin of the Church of St. *Croix*, a fellow that wore his Surplice (it was made of Lawn and lace) with as good a credit, as ever I saw any, and for the comlinesse and capacity of his Cap, he might have been a Metropolitan: perceiving me to speak to him in a strange tongue, for it was Latine, he very readily asked me this question, *Num potestis loqui Gallia?* which when I had denyed, at last he broke out into another interrogatory, *viz. Quam diu fuistis in Gallice?* To conclude, having

read over my Letter, with two or three deadly pangs, and six times rubbing of his temples, he dismissed me with this cordiall, and truly it was very comfortable to my humour, *Ego negotias vestras curabo.* A strange beast, and one of the greatest prodigies of ignorance, that I ever met with in mans apparrell.

Such being the *Romish* Priests, it is no marvel that the *French* Papist be no more setled and resolute in their Religion. If the eye be blinde, the body cannot choose but be darkned. And certainly there is nothing that hath prepared many of this Realm more to imbrace the Reformation, then the blockishnesse of their own Clergy. An excellent advantage to the Protestant Ministers, could they but well humor it, and likely to be a fair enlargement to their party, if well husbanded. Besides this, the *French Catholicks* are not over earnest in the cause, and so lie open to the assaults of any politick enemy. To deal with them by main force of argument, and in the fervent spirit of zeal, as the Protestants too often do, is not the way; men uncapable of opposition, as this people generally are, and furious if once thwarted; must be tamed as *Alexander* did his horse *Bucephalus*; those which came to back him with the tyranny of the spur and cudgell, he quickly threw down and mischiefed. *Alexander* came otherwise prepared, for turning the horse towards the sun that he might not see the impatience of his own shadow, he spake kindly to him, and gently clapped him on the back, till he had left his flinging and wildnesse, he lightly leapt into the saddle, the horse never making resistance: *Plutarch* in his life relateth the story, and this is the morall of it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The correſpondency between the French *King and the Pope. This Pope an Omen of the Marriages of* France *with* England. *An* Engliſh *Catholicks conceit of it. His Holineſſe* Nuncio *in* Paris. *A learned Argument to prove the Popes univerſality. A continuation of the allegory between* Jacob *and* Eſau. *The Proteſtants compelled to leave their Forts and Towns. Their preſent eſtate and ſtrength. The laſt War againſt them juſtly undertaken; not fairely managed. Their inſolencies and diſobedience to the Kings command. Their purpoſe to have themſelves a free eſtate. The war not a war of Religion. King* James *in juſtice could not aſſiſt them more then he did. Firſt forſaken by their own party. Their happineſſe before the war. The Court of the edict. A view of them in their Churches. The commendation which the* French *Papiſts give to the Church of* England. *Their Diſcipline and Miniſteries*, &c.

WE have ſeen the ſtrength and ſubtility, as alſo ſomewhat of his poverties at home: Let us now ſee the alliance which this *French Eſau* hath abroad in the world; in what credit and opinion he ſtandeth in the eye of *Beeri* the *Romiſh Hittite*, the daughter of whoſe abominations he hath marryed. And here I find him to hold good correſpondency, as being the eldeſt ſon of the Church, and an equall poiſe to ballance the affaires of *Italy*

againſt the Potency of *Spain*. On this ground the preſent Pope hath alwayes ſhewn himſelf very favourable to the *French* ſide, well knowing into what perils an unneceſſary and impolitick dependance on the *Spaniſh* party only; would one day bring the State Eccleſiaſtick. As in the generall, ſo alſo in many particulars hath he expreſſed much affection unto him. As

1. By taking into his hands the *Valtolin*, till his Sonne of *France* might ſettle himſelf in ſome courſe to recover it.

2. His not ſtirring in the behalf of the *Spaniard*, during the laſt wars in *Italy*. And

3. His ſpeedy and willing grant of the diſpenſation for Madams marriage, notwithſtanding the *Spaniard* ſo earneſtly laboured the deniall, or at leaſt the delay of it.

To ſpeak by conjectures, I am of opinion, that his Genius prompted him to ſee the ſpeedy conſummation of this marriage, of which his Papacy was ſo large an Omen, ſo far a prognoſtick.

Eſt Deus in nobis, agitante caleſcimus illo.

The *Lar* or angell guardian of his thoughts haſtned him in it; in whoſe time there was ſo plauſible a Preſage, that it muſt be accompliſhed. For thus it ſtandeth: *Malachi* now a Saint, then one of the firſt Apoſtles of the *Iriſh*, one much reverenced in his memory unto this day by that Nation; left behind him by way of Propheſie a certain number of Mottoes in Latine, telling thoſe that there ſhould follow that certain number of Popes only, whoſe conditions ſucceſſively ſhould be lively expreſſed in thoſe Mottos, according to that order which he had placed them. *Meſſingham* an *Iriſh* Prieſt, and Maſter of the Colledge of *Iriſh* fugitives in *Paris*, collected together the lives of all the *Iriſh* Saints; which book himſelf ſhewed me. In that Volume, and the life of this Saint, are the ſeverall Mottos and ſeverall Popes ſet down Column wiſe one againſt the other: I compared the lives of them with the Mottos, as far as my memory would carry me, and found many of them very anſwerable.

As

As I remember there are 36 Mottos yet come, and when just so many Popes are joyned to them, they are of opinion (for so *Malachie* foretold) that either the world should end, or the Popedom be ruined. Amongst the others, the Motto of the present Pope was most remarkable, and sutable to the action likely to happen in his time: being this, *Lilium & Rosa*, which they interpret, and in my mind not unhappily, to be intended to the conjunction of the *French Lilly* and *English Rose*. To take from me any suspicion of Imposture, he shewed an old book, printed almost 200 years agoe, written by one *Wion* a *Flemming*, and comparing the number of the Mottos with the Catalogue of the Popes; I found the name of *Urban* (the now Pope) to answer it. On this ground an *English* Catholick, whose acquaintance I gained in *France*; made a copy of Verses in *French*, and presented them to the *English* Ambassadours, the Earls of *Carlile* and *Holland*. Because he is my friend, and the conceit is not to be despised, I begged them of him, and these are they.

Lilia juncta Rosis.

Embleme de bon presage de l' Alliance de la France, avec l' Angle terre.

Ce grand dieu qui d'un oeil voit tout ce que les ans.
Soubs leurs voiles sacrez vont a nous yeux cachans.
Decouure quelque fois, ainsi qui bon lui semble,
Et les maux a venir, et les biens tout ensemble,
Ainsi fit-il jades a celui, qui primier.
Dans l' Ireland porta de la froy le laurier;
Malachie son nom qu' au tymon de legliſe
On verra seoir un jour, cil qui pour sa deviſe.

Aura

Aura les lys chenus ioints aux plus belles fleures,
Qui dorent le prin-temps, de leurs doubles colours.
CHARLES est le fleuron de la Rose pourpree;
Henritte est le Lys, que la plus belle pree
De la France nourrtit: pour estre quelque jour
Et la Reina des fleurs, et des roses l' amour.
Adorable banquet, b en heureuse couronne,
Que la bonte du ciel e parrage nous donne;
Heureuse ma partie, heureuse mille fois,
Celle qui te fera reflorier en les roys.

With these Verses I take my leave of his Holinesse, wishing none of his successors would presage worse luck unto *England*. I go now to see his *Nuncio*, to whose house the same *English Catholick* brought me, but he was not at home; his name is *Bernardino d' Espada*: a man, as he informed me, able to discharge the trust reposed in him by his Master, and one that very well affected the *English* Nation. He hath the fairest house, and keepeth the largest retinue of any ordinary Ambassador in the Realm; and maketh good his Masters Supremacies, by his own precedency. To honour him against he was to take his charge, his Holinesse created him Bishop of *Damiata* in *Egypt*; a place which I am certain never any of them saw but in a map, and for the profits he receiveth thence, they will never be able to pay for his Crozier. But this is one of his Holinesse usuall policies, to satisfie his followers with empty titles. So he made Bishop, whom he sent to govern for him in *England*, Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Asia*; and *Smith* also who is come over about the same businesse, with the Queen, Bishop of *Archidala* a City of *Thrace*. An old *English* Doctor used it as an especiall argument to prove the universality of power in the Pope, because he could ordain Bishops over all Cities in Christendom; if he could as easily give them also the revenue, this reason (I confesse) would much sway me, till then I am sorry that men should still be boyes, and play with bubbles. By the same authority he might do well to make all his Courtiers Kings,

Kings, and then he were ſure to have a moſt royall and beggerly Court of it.

To proceed a little further in the Allegory, ſo it is that when *Jacob* ſaw *Eſau* to have incurred his fathers and mothers anger, for his heatheniſh marriage, he ſet himſelf to bereave his elder brother of his bleſſing. Prayers, and the ſweet ſmell of his Veniſon, the ſweet ſmelling of his ſacrifices, obtained of his Lord and Father a bleſſing for him: for indeed the Lord hath given unto this his *French Jacob*, as it is in the text, *the dew of heaven, and the fatneſſe of the earth, and plenty of corne and wine*, *Gen.* 27. 28. It followeth in the 41. *verſ.* of the *Chapter*. *And Eſau hated Jacob, becauſe of the bleſſing wherewith his father had bleſſed him; and Eſau ſaid in his heart, The days of mourning for my father are at hand, then will I ſlay my brother Jacob.* The event of which his bloudy reſolution was, that *Jacob* was fain to relinquiſh all that he had, and flie unto his Uncle. This laſt part of the ſtory, expreſſeth very much of the preſent eſtate of the *French* Church. The Papiſts hated the Proteſtants to ſee them thrive and increaſe ſo much amongſt them. This hatred moved them to a war, by which they hoped to root them out altogether; and this war compelled the Proteſtants to abandon their good Towns, their ſtrong holds, and all their poſſeſſions, and to flie to their friends whereſoever they could finde them. And indeed, the preſent eſtate of the Proteſtants is not much better then that of *Jacob* in *Meſopotamia*, nor much different. The bleſſing which they expect lyeth more in the ſeed then the harveſt. For their ſtrength it conſiſteth principally in their prayers to God: and ſecondly, in their obedience to their Kings. Within theſe two fortreſſes, if they can keep themſelves, they need fear none ill; becauſe they ſhall deſerve none. The only outward ſtrengths they have left them, are the two Towns of *Montaban* and *Rochell*, the one deemed invincible, the other threatned a ſpeedy deſtruction. The Duke of *Eſpernon* (at my being there) lay round about it, and it was ſaid, that the Town was in very bad terms: all the neighbouring Towns, to whoſe oppoſition they much truſted, having yeelded at the firſt ſight of the Canon. *Rochell*, it is thought, cannot be forced

by assault, nor compelled by a famine. Some Protestants are glad of, and hope to see the *French* Church restored to its former powerfulnesse, by the resistance of that Town meerly. I rather think, that the perverse and stubborn condition of it, will at last, drive the young King into a fury, and incite him to revenge their contradiction, on their innocent friends, now disarmed and disabled. Then will they see at last the issue of their own peremptory resolutions, and begin to believe, that the Heathen Historian was of the two the better Christian, when he gave us this note, *Non turpe est ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas, neque illi inhoneste etiam submitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset.* This weaknesse and misery which hath now befallen the Protestants, was an effect, I confesse, of the ill-will which the other party bare them; but that they bare them ill will, was a fruit of their own graffing. In this circumstance, they were nothing like *Jacob*, who in the hatred which his brother *Esau* had to him, was simply passive; they being active also in the birth of it. And indeed that lamentable and bloudy war, which fell upon them, they not only endevoured not to avoid, but invited, during the reign of *Henry* IV. who would not see it, and the troublesome minority of *Lewis* XIII. who could not molest them, they had made themselves masters of 99 Towns, well fortifyed and enabled for a siege: a strength too great for any one faction to keep together, under a King which desires to be himself, and rule his people. In the opinion of this their potency, they call Assemblies, Parliaments as it were, when and as often as they pleased. There they consulted of the common affairs of Religion, made new Laws of government, removed and rechanged their generall officers; the Kings leave all this while never so much as formally demanded. Had they only been guilty of too much power, that crime alone had been sufficient to have raised a war against them, it not standing with the safety and honour of a King, not to be the absolute commander of his own Subjects. But in this their licentious calling of Assemblies, they abused their power into a neglect, and not dissolving them at his Majesties commandment, they increased their

their neglect into into a disobedience. The Assembly which principally occasioned the war and their ruine, was that of *Rochell*, called by the Protestants presently upon the Kings journey into *Bearn*. This generall meeting the King prohibited by his especiall Edicts, declaring all them to be guilty of treason; which notwithstanding they would not hearken to, but very undutifully went on in their purposes. It was said by a Gentleman of their party, and one that had been imployed in many of their affairs, *That the fiery zeal of some who had the guiding of their consciences, had thrust them into those desperate courses*; and I believe him;

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

Being assembled, they sent the King a *Remonstrance* of their grievances, to which the Duke *Lesdiguiers*, in a Letter to them written, gave them a very fair and plausible answer, wherein also he intreateth them to obey the Kings Edict, and break up the Assembly. Upon the receipt of this Letter, those of the Assembly published a Declaration, wherein they verified their meeting to be lawfull, and their purpose not to dismisse themselves, till their desires were granted. This affront done to the King, made him gather together his Forces; yet at the Duke of *Lesdiguiers* request, he allowed them 24 dayes of respite; before his Armies should march towards them, he offered them also very fair and reasonable conditions, such also as their Deputies had solicited, but far better then those which they were glad to accept, when all their Towns were taken from them. *Profecto ineluctabilis fatorum vis, cujus fortunam mutare constituit, ejus corrumpit consilia.* It held very rightly in this people, who turned a deaf eare to all good advice, and were resolved it seemeth, *Not to hear the voice of the Charmer, charmed he never so sweetly.* In their Assemblie therefore they make Lawes and Orders to regulate their disobedience, as, That no peace should be made without the consent of the generall Convocation, about paying of Souldiers wages, for the detaining of the Revenues of the King and Clergy, and the like. They also there divided *France* into seven circles or

parts, assigning over every circle severall Generals and Lieutenants, and prescribed Orders how those Generals should proceed in the wars.

Thus we see the Kings Army leavied upon no slight ground, his Regall authority was neglected, his especiall Edicts violated, his gracious profers slighted, and his Revenues forbidden him, and his Realm divided before his face, and allotted unto officers not of his own election. Had the prosecution of his action been as fair, as the cause was, just and legall, the Protestants had only deserved the infamy; but *hinc illæ lachrymæ.* The King so behaved himself in it, that he suffered the sword to walk at randome; as if his main design had been, not to correct his people, but to ruine them. I will instance onely in that tyrannicall slaughter, which he permitted at the taking of *Nigrepetisse*, a Town of *Quercu*; wherein indeed, the Souldiers shewed the very rigour of severity, which either a barbarous victor could inflict, or a vanquished people suffer, *Nec ullum sævitiæ genus omisit ira & victoria*, as *Tacitus* of the angred *Romans*. For they spared neither man, nor woman, nor childe, all equally subject to the cruelty of the sword and the Conquerour. The streets paved with dead carkasses, the channels running with the bloud of Christians; no noise in the streets, but of such as were welcoming death, or suing for life. Their Churches, which the *Goths* spared at the sack of *Rome*, were at this place made the Theatres of lust and bloud; neither priviledge of Sanctuary, nor fear of God, in whose holy house they were, qualifying their outrage; this in the common places.

At domus interior gemitu, miseroque tumultu
Miscetur; penituſque cavæ plangoribus ædes
Fœmineis ululant. ———

As *Virgil* in the ruine of *Troy*.

But the calamities which befell the men, were mercifull and sparing, if compared to those which the women suffered; when the Souldiers had made them the objects of their lust, they made them also the subjects of their fury, in that only pitifull

pittifull to that poor and diſtreſſed ſex that they did not let them ſurvive their honours. Such of them who out of fear and faintneſs had made but little reſiſtance, had the favour to be ſtabbed; but thoſe whoſe virtue and courage maintained their bodies valiantly from the rapes of thoſe villains, had the ſecrets of nature (*procul hinc eſte caſtæ & miſericordes aures*) filled with gun-powder, and ſo blown into aſhes. Whither, O you divine powers! is humanity fled when it is not to be found in Chriſtians? or where ſhall we look for the effects of a pitifull nature, when men are become ſo unnaturall? It is ſaid that the King was ignorant of this barbarouſneſſe, and offended at it. Offended I perſwade my ſelf he could not but be, unleſſe he had totally put off himſelf, and degenerated into a Tyger. But for his ignorance I dare not conceive it to be any other then that of *Nero*, an ignorance rather in his eye then underſtanding: *Subduxit oculos Nero* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *juſſitque ſcelera, non ſpectavit* ——— Though the Proteſtants deſerved affliction for their diſobedience; yet this was an execution above the nature of a puniſhment, a miſery beyond the condition of the crime. True it is, and I ſhall never acquit them of it, that in the time of their proſperity, they had done the King many affronts, and committed many acts of diſobedience and inſolency, which juſtly occaſioned the war againſt them; for beſides thoſe already recited, they themſelves firſt broke thoſe Edicts, the due execution whereof ſeemed to have been their only petition. The King by his Edict of pacification, had licenced the free exerciſe of both Religions, and thereupon permitted the Prieſts and Jeſuits to preach in the Towns of *Caution*, being then in the hands of the Proteſtants. On the other ſide, the Proteſtants aſſembled at *Loudun*, ſtrictly commanded all their Governors, Maiors and Sheriffs, not to ſuffer any Jeſuits, nor any of any other Order to preach in their Towns, although licenced by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. When upon diſlike of their proceedings in that Aſſembly the King had declared their meeting to be unlawfull, and contrary to his peace; and this Declaration was verified againſt them by the Parlia-

ment: they notwithstanding would not separate themselves, but stood still upon terms of capitulation, and the justifiableness of their action again. Whereas it hapned, that the Lord of *Privas*, a Town full of those of the Religion, dyed in the year 1620. and left his daughter and heir in the bed and marriage of the Viscount of *Cheylane*, a *Catholick*: this new Lord according to law and right, in his own Town changed the former Garrison, putting his own servants and dependants in their places. Upon this the Protestants of the Town and Countrey round about it, draw themselves in troops, surprise many of the Towns about it, and at last compelled the young Gentleman to flie from his inheritance; an action, which jumping even with the time of the Assembly at *Rochell*, made the King more doubtfull of their sincerity. I could add to these divers others of their undutifull practises, being the effects of too much felicitie, and of a fortune which they could not govern.

Atqui animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit.

These their insolencies and unruly acts of disobedience, made the King and his Counsell suspect, that their designes tended further then Religion, and that their purpose might be to make themselves a free State, after the example of *Geneva*, and the Low-countreymen. The late power which they had taken of calling their own Synods and Convocations, was a strong argument of their purpose; so also was the intelligence which they held with those of their own faith. At the Synod of *Gappe*, called by the permission of *Henry* the fourth, on the first of *October*, *anno* 1603. they not only gave audience to Ambassadours, and received Letters from forain Princes; but also importuned his Majesty to have a generall liberty of going into any other Countries, and assisting at their Councels: a matter of especiall importance: and therefore the King upon a foresight of the dangers, wisely prohibited them to goe to any Assemblies

Assemblies without a particular Licence, upon pain to be declared Traytors. Since that time growing into greater strength, whensoever they had occasion of businesse with King *Lewis*, they would never treat with him, but by their Ambassadours, and upon especiall Articles.

An ambition above the quality of those that professe themselves Subjects, and the only way, as *Du Seirres* noteth, *To make an Estate in the State.* But the answers made unto the King by those of *Clerac* and *Montauban*, are pregnant proofs of their intent and meaning in this kinde; the first being summoned by the King and his Army the 21 of *July*, *Anno* 1621. returned thus, *That the King should suffer them to enjoy their Liberties, and leave their Fortifications as they were, for the safety of their lives, and so they would declare themselves to be his Subjects.* They of *Montauban*, made a fuller expression of the generall design and disobedience, which was, *That they were resolved to live and die in the union of the Churches*, had they said *for the service of the King*, it had been spoken bravely, but now rebelliously.

This Union and Confederacy of theirs, King *Lewis* used to call *the Common-wealth of Rochell*; for the overthrow of which, he alwayes protested, that he had only taken armes, and if we compare circumstances, we shall finde it to be no other.

In the second of *Aprill*, before he had as yet advanced into the field, he published a Declaration in favour of all those of the Religion, which would contain themselves within duty and obedience. And whereas some of *Tours*, at the beginning of the wars, had tumultuously molested the Protestants, at the buriall of one of their dead; five of them, by the Kings commandement, were openly executed. When the war was hottest abroad, those of the Religion in *Paris* lived as securely as ever, and had their accustomed meetings at *Charenton*; so had also those of other places. Moreover, when tidings came to *Paris* of the Duke of *Mayens* death, slain

ſlain before *Montauban*, the raſcall *French*, according to their hot headed diſpoſitions, breathed out nothing but ruine to the *Hugonots*. The Duke of *Monbazon* governour of the City commanded their houſes and the ſtreets to be ſafely guarded. After, when this rabble had burnt down their Temple at *Charenton*, the Court of Parliament on the day following ordained, that it ſhould be built up again in a more beautifull manner, and that at the Kings charge. Add to this, that ſince the ending of the wars, and the reduction of almoſt all their Towns, we have not ſeen the leaſt alteration of Religion. Beſides that, they have been permitted to hold a Nationall Synod at *Charenton* for eſtabliſhing the truth of their Doctrine, againſt the errours of *Arminius* profeſſour of *Leidon* in *Holland*.

All things thus conſidered in their true being, I connot ſee for what cauſe our late Soveraign ſhould ſuffer ſo much cenſure as he then did, for not giving them aſſiſtance. I cannot but ſay, that my ſelf have too often condemned his remiſſeneſſe in that cauſe, which upon better conſideration I cannot tell how he ſhould have dealt in. Had he been a medler in it further then he was, he had not ſo much preſerved Religion, as ſupported Rebellion; beſides the conſequence of the example. He had Subjects of his own more then enough, which were ſubject to diſcontent, and prone to an apoſtaſie from their alleagiance. To have aſſiſted the diſobedient *French* under the colour of the liberty of conſcience, had been only to have taught that King a way into *England* upon the ſame pretence; and to have trod the path of his own hazard. He had not long before denied ſuccour to his own children, when he might have given them on a better ground, and for a fairer purpoſe; and could not now in honour countenance the like action in another. For that other, deniall of his helping hand, I much doubt how far poſterity will acquit him, though certainly he was a good Prince, and had been an happy inſtrument of the peace of Chriſtendome, had not the

latter

latter part of his reign hapned in a time ſo full of troubles. So that betwixt the quietneſſe of his nature, and the turbulency of his latter dayes, he fell into that miſerable exigent mentioned in the Hiſtorian, *Miſerrimum eſt cum alicui, aut natura ſua excedenda eſt, aut minuenda dignitas.* Add to this, that the *French* had been firſt abandoned at home by their own friends, of ſeven Generals which they had appointed for the ſeven circles into which they divided all *France*; four of them never giving them incouragement. The three which accepted of thoſe unordinate Governments, were the Duke of *Rohan*, his brother M. *Soubiſe*, and the Marqueſſe of *Lafforce*; the four others being the Duke of *Tremoville*, the Earl of *Chaſtillon*, the Duke of *Leſdiſguier*, and the Duke of *Bovillon*, who ſhould have commanded in chief. So that the *French* Proteſtants cannot ſay that he was firſt wanting for them, but they to themſelves.

If we demand what ſhould move the *French* Proteſtants to this Rebellious contradiction of his Majeſties commandements. We muſt anſwer, that it was too much happineſſe: *Cauſa hujus belli eadem quæ omnium, nimia fælicitas*, as *Florus* of the Civill wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*. Before the year 1620 when they fell firſt into the Kings diſfavour, they were poſſeſſed of almoſt 100 good Towns, well fortified for their ſafety; beſides beautifull houſes and ample poſſeſſions in the Villages, they ſlept every man under his own Vine and his own Fig-tree; neither fearing, nor needing to fear the leaſt diſturbance: with thoſe of the Cathólick party, they were grown ſo intimate and entire, by reaſon of their inter-marriages, that a very few years would have them incorporated, if not into one faith, yet into one family. For their better ſatisfaction in matters of Juſtice, it pleaſed King *Henry* the fourth, to erect a Chamber in the Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, purpoſely for them. It conſiſteth of one Preſident and 16 Counſellours; their office to take knowledge of all the Cauſes and Suits of them of the reformed Religion, as well within the juriſdiction of the Parliament

of *Paris*, as also in *Normandy* and *Britain*, till there should be a Chamber erected in either of them. There were appointed also two Chambers in the Parliaments of *Burdeaux* and *Grenoble*, and one at the *Chastres* for the Parliament of *Tholoza*. These Chambers were called *Les Chambre de l' Edict*, because they were established by especiall Edict, at the Towns of *Nantes* in *Britain*, *Aprill* the 8. *anno* 1598. In a word, they lived so secure and happy, that one would have thought their felicities had been immortall.

O faciles dare summa deos, eademque tueri
Difficiles ——

And yet they are not brought so low, but that they may live happily, if they can be content to live obediently; that which is taken from them, being matter of strength only, and not priviledge.

Let us now look upon them in their Churches, which we shall finde as empty of magnificence as ceremony. To talke amongst them of Common-prayers, were to fright them with the second coming of the Masse; and to mention Prayers at the buriall of the dead, were to perswade them of a Purgatory. Painted glasse in a Church window, is accounted for the flag and ensigne of Antichrist: and for Organs, no question but they are deemed to be the Devils bagpipes. Shew them a Surplice, and they cry out, a rag of the Whore of *Babylon*; yet a sheet on a woman, when she is in child-bed, is a greater abomination then the other. A strange people, that could never think the Masse-book sufficiently reformed, till they had taken away Prayers; nor that their Churches could ever be handsome, untill they were ragged. This foolish opposition of their first Reformers, hath drawn the Protestants of these parts into a world of dislike and envie, and been no small disadvantage to the side. Whereas the Church of *England*, though it dissent as much from the Papists in point of Doctrine, is yet not uncharitably thought on by the Modern Catholicks, by reason it retained such an excellency of Discipline. When the *Liturgie* of

of our Church was translated into Latine by Dr. *Morket*, once Warden of *All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxford*, it was with great approofe and applauſe received here in *France*, by thoſe whom they call the Catholicks royall; as marvelling to ſee ſuch order and regular devotion in them, whom they were taught to condemn for Hereticall. An allowance, which with ſome little help, might have been raiſed higher, from the practice of our Church, to ſome points of our judgement, and it is very worthy of our obſervation, that which the Marqueſſe of *Rhoſny* ſpake of *Canterbury*, when he came as extraordinary Ambaſſadour from King *Henry* IV. to welcome King *James* into *England*. For upon the view of our ſolemn Service and ceremonies, he openly ſaid unto his followers, *That if the reformed Churches in France, had kept the ſame orders amongſt them which we have, he was aſſured that there would have been many thouſands more of Proteſtants there, then now are.* But the Marqueſſe of *Rhoſny* was not the laſt that ſaid ſo, I have heard divers *French* Papiſts, who were at the Queens coming over, and ventured ſo far upon an excommunication, as to be preſent at our Church ſolemn Services, extoll them and us for their ſakes, even almoſt unto hyperboles. So graciouſly is our temper entertained amongſt them.

As are their Churches, ſuch is their Diſcipline, naked of all Antiquity, and almoſt as modern as the men which imbrace it. The power and calling of *Biſhops*, they abrogated with the Maſſe, upon no other cauſe then that *Geneva* had done it. As if that excellent man Mr. *Calvin* had been the *Pythagoras* of our age, and his αὐτὸς ἔφη, his *ipſe dixit*, had ſtood for Oracles. The *Hierarchie* of Biſhops thus caſt out, they have brought in their places the Lay-Elders, a kind of Monſter never heard of in the Scriptures, or firſt times of the Goſpell. Theſe men leap from the ſtall to the bench, and there partly ſleeping, and partly ſtroaking of their beards; enact laws of Government for the Church, ſo that we may juſtly take up the complaint of the Satyriſt, ſaying, *Surgunt nobis e ſterquilinio Magiſtratus, nec dum lotis manibus publica tractant negotia*; yet to theſe very men, compoſed equally

of ignorance and a trade, are the moſt weighty matters of the Church committed. In them is the power of ordaining Prieſts, of conferring places of charge, and even of the ſevereſt cenſure of the Church, Excommunication. When any buſineſſe which concerneth the good of the Congregation is befallen, they muſt be called to councell, and you ſhall finde them there as ſoon as ever they can put off their Aprons; having blurted out there a little Claſſicall non-ſenſe, and paſſed their conſents rather by nodding of their heads, then any other ſenſible articulation, they haſten to their ſhops, as *Quinctius* the Dictator in *Florus* did to his plough, *Ut ad opus relictum feſtinaſſe videatur*. Such a plat-form, though it be, that needeth no further confutation then to know it, yet had it been tolerable if the contrivers of it had not endevoured to impoſe it on all the Reformation. By which means what great troubles have been raiſed by the great zelots here in *England*, there is none ſo young, but hath heard ſome Tragicall relations. God be magnified, and our late King praiſed, by whom this weed hath been ſnatched up out of the garden of this our *Iſrael*.

As for their Miniſtery, it is indeed very learned in their ſtudies, and exceeding painfull in their calling. By the firſt they confute the ignorance of the *Roman* Clergy; by the ſecond their lazineſſe. And queſtionleſſe it behoveth them ſo to be, for living in a Countrey full of oppoſition, they are enforced to a neceſſity of book-learning, to maintain the cauſe, and being continually as it were beſet with ſpies, they do the oftner frequent the Pulpits, to hold up their credits. The maintenance which is allotted to them, ſcarce amounteth to a competency, though by that name they pleaſe to call it. With receiving of tithes they never meddle, and therefore in their Schiſmaticall tracts of Divinity, they do hardly allow of the paying of them. Some of them hold that they were *Jewiſh*, and abrogated with the Law. Others think them to be meerly *jure humano*, and yet that they may lawfully be accepted, where they are tendred. It is well known yet that there are ſome amongſt them, which will commend grapes, though they cannot reach them. This competence may come unto 40 or 50 *l.* yearly, or a little more. *Beza* that great and famous Preacher

Preacher of *Geneva*, had but 80 *l.* a year; and about that rate was *Peter de Moulins* penſion, when he Preached at *Charenton*. Theſe ſtipends are partly payed by the King; and partly raiſed by way of Collection. So the Miniſters of theſe Churches, are much of the nature with the *Engliſh* Lecturers.

As for the Tithes, they belong to the ſeverall Pariſh Prieſts in whoſe Precincts they are due; and they, I'le warrant you, according to the little learning which they have, will maintain them to be *jure divino*. The Sermons of the *French* are very plain and home-ſpun, little in them of the Fathers, and leſſe of humane learning; it being concluded in the Synod of *Gappe*, that only the Scriptures ſhould be uſed in their Pulpits. They conſiſt much of Exhortation and Uſe, and of nothing in a manner which concerneth knowledge; a ready way to raiſe up and edifie the Will and Affections, but withal to ſtarve the underſtanding. For the education of them being children, they have private Schools; when they are better grown, they may have free recourſe unto any of the *French* Academies; beſides the new Univerſity of *Saumur*, which is wholly theirs, and is the chiefe place of their ſtudy.

Chap. IV.

The connexion between the Church and Common-wealth in generall. A transition to the particular of France. *The Government there meerly regall. A mixt forme of Government most commendable. The Kings Patents for Offices. Monopolies above the censure of Parliament. The strange office intended to Mr.* Luynes. *The Kings gifts and expences. The Chamber of Accounts.* France *divided into three sorts of people. The* Conventus Ordinum *nothing but a title. The inequality of the Nobles and Commons in* France. *The Kings power how much respected by the Princes. The powerablenesse of that rank. The formall execution done on them. The multitude and confusion of Nobility. King* James *defended. A censure of the* French *Heralds. The command of the* French *Nobles over their Tenants. Their priviledges, gibbets and other* Regalia. *They conspire with the King to undoe the Commons.*

HAving thus spoken of the Churches; I must now treat a little of the Common-wealth. Religion is as the soul of a State, Policy as the body; we can hardly discourse of the one, without a relation to the other; if we do, we commit a wilfull murder, in thus destroying a republick. The Common-wealth without the Church, is but a carkasse, a thing inanimate. The Church without the Common-wealth is as it were *anima separata*, the

the joyning of them together maketh of both one flourishing and permanent body; and therefore as they are in nature, so in my relation, *Connubio jungam stabili.* Moreover, such a secret sympathy there is between them, such a necessary dependance of one upon the other, that we may say of them, what *Tully* doth of two twins in his book *De fato*, *Eodem tempore, eorum morbus gravescit, & eodem levatur.* They grow sick and well at the same time, and commonly run out their races at the same instant. There is besides the general respect of each to other, a more particular band betwixt them here in *France*, which is a likenesse and resemblance. In the Church of *France* we have found an head and a body; this body again divided into two parts, the Catholick and the Protestant: the head is in his own opinion, and the minds of many others, of a power unlimited; yet the Catholick party hath strongly curbed it. And of the two parts of the body, we see the Papists flourishing and in triumph, whilest that of the Protestant is in misery and affliction. Thus is it also in the body Politick. The King in his own conceit boundlesse and omnipotent, is yet affronted by his Nobles; which Nobles enjoy all the freedome of riches and happinesse; the poor Paisants in the mean time living in drudgery and bondage.

For the government of the King is meerly, indeed, regal, or to give it the true name *despoticall*; though the Countrey be his wife, and all the people are his children, yet doth he neither govern as an husband or a father; he accounteth of them all as of his servants, and therefore commandeth them as a Master. In his Edicts which he over frequenly sendeth about, he never mentioneth the good will of his Subjects, nor the approbation of his Councell, but concludeth all of them in this forme, *Car tell est nostre plaisir, Sic volo sic jubeo.* A forme of government very prone to degenerate into a tyranny, if the Princes had not oftentimes strength and will to make resistance. But this is not the vice of the entire and Soveraign Monarchy alone, which the Greek call αὐτοβασιλεία; the other two good formes of regiment, being subject also to the same frailty. Thus in the reading of Histories have we observed an *Aristocracie*, to have been frequently

quently corrupted into an *Oligarchie*; and a πολιτεία (or Common-wealth properly ſo called) into a *Democratie*. For as in the body naturall, the pureſt complexions are leſſe laſting, but eaſily broken and ſubject to alteration; ſo is it in the body Civill, the pure and unmixt formes of Government, though perfect and abſolute in their kinds, are yet of little continuance, and very ſubject to change into its oppoſite. They therefore which have written of Republicks do moſt applaud and commend the mixt manner of rule, which is equally compounded of the Kingdome and the *Politeia*; becauſe in theſe the Kings have all the power belonging to their title, without prejudice to the populacie. In theſe there is referred to the King, abſolute Majeſty; to the Nobles, convenient authority; to the People, an incorrupted liberty: all in a juſt and equall proportion. Every one of theſe is like the Empire of *Rome*, as it was moderated by *Nerva*, *Qui res olim diſſociabiles miſcuerat, principatum & libertatem*; wherein the Soveraignty of one endamaged not the freedome of all. A rare mixture of Government, and ſuch at this time is the Kingdome of *England*, a Kingdome of a perfect and happy compoſition; wherein the King hath his full Prerogative, the Nobles all due reſpects, and the People, amongſt other bleſſings perfect in this, that they are maſters of their own purpoſes, and have a ſtrong hand in the making of their own Laws.

On the other ſide, in the Regall government of *France*, the Subject frameth his life meerly as the Kings variable Edicts ſhall pleaſe to enjoyn him; is raviſhed of his money as the Kings taske-maſters think fit; and ſuffereth many other oppreſſions, which in their proper place ſhall be ſpecified. This *Ariſtotle* in the third book of his *Politicks* calleth, Ἀρχὴ δεσποτική, or the command of a Maſter, and defineth it to be Αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν, ἄρχει πάντων καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῷ βούλησιν, ὁ βασιλεύς, Such an Empire by which a Prince may command, and do whatſoever ſhall ſeem good in his own eyes. One of the Prerogatives Royall of the *French* Kings. For though the Court of Parliament doth ſeem to challenge a peruſall of his Edicts, before they paſſe for Laws; yet is that

that but a meer formality. It is the *cartel eſt noſtre plaiſir*, which maketh them currant; which it ſeemeth theſe Princes learned of the *Roman Emperors*. *Juſtinian* in the book of *Inſtitutions*, maketh five grounds of the Civill Laws, *viz.* *Lex*, (he meaneth the law of the 12 Tables) *Plebiſcita*, *Senatuſconſulta*, *Prudentum Reſponſa*, & *Principum placita*; to this laſt he addeth this generall ſtrength, *Quod principi placuerit, legis habet valorem*; the very foundation of the *French* Kings powerfulneſſe. True it is, that the Courts of Parliament do uſe to demur ſometimes upon his Patents and Decrees, and to petition him for a reverſall of them; but their anſwer commonly is, *Stat pro ratione voluntas*. He knoweth his own power, and granteth his Letters patents for new Offices and Monopolies abundantly. If a monied man can make a friend in Court, he may have an office found for him, of ſix pence upon every Sword made in *France*; a Livre, upon the ſelling of every head of Cattell; a brace of Sols, for every paire of boots, and the like. It is the only ſtudy of ſome men to finde out ſuch devices of enriching themſelves, and undoing the people. The Patent for Innes granted to St. *Giles Mompeſſon*, was juſt one of the *French* offices.

As for Monopolies, they are here ſo common, that the Subject taketh no notice of it; not a ſcurvey petty book being Printed, but it hath its priviledge affixed, *Ad imprimendum ſolum*. Theſe being granted by the King, are carryed to the Parliament, by them formally peruſed, and finally verified; after which, they are in force and virtue againſt all oppoſition. It is ſaid in *France* that Mr. *Luynes* had obtained a Patent of the King, for a *quart d' eſcu* to be paid unto him upon the Chriſtning of every child thoughout all the Kingdome. A very unjuſt and unconſcionable extortion. Had he lived to have preſented it to the Court, I much doubt of their deniall, though the only cauſe of bringing before them ſuch Patents, is onely intended that they ſhould diſcuſſe the juſtice and convenience of them.

As the Parliament hath a formality of power left in them, of verifying the Kings Edicts, his grants of Offices

and Monopolies. So hath the *Chamber of Accounts*, a ſuperficiall ſurvey alſo of his giſts and expences. For his expences, they are thought to be as great now as ever, by reaſon of the ſeverall retinues of himſelf, his Mother, his Queen, and the *Monſeiur*; neither are his giſts leſſened. The late Wars which he managed againſt the Proteſtants coſt him deer, he being fain to bind unto him moſt of his Princes by money and penſions. As the expenſes of the King are brought unto this Court to be examined, ſo are alſo the Giſts and Penſions by him granted to be ratified. The titulary power given unto this Chamber, is to cut off all thoſe of the Kings grants which have no good ground and foundation; the officers being ſolemnly (at the leaſt formally) ſworn, not to ſuffer any thing to paſſe them, to the detriment of the Kingdome, whatſoever Letters of command thay have to the contrary. But this Oath they oftentimes diſpenſe with. To this Court alſo belongeth the *Enfranchiſement* or *Naturalization of Aliens*, anciently certain Lords, officers of the Crown, and of the prime counſell were appointed to look unto the accounts. Now it is made an ordinary and ſoveraigne Court, conſiſting of two Preſidents and divers Auditors, and other under Officers. The *Chamber* wherein it is kept, called *La Chambre des comptes*, is the beautifulleſt peece of the whole *Palais*; the great Chamber it ſelf, not being worthy to be named in the ſame day with it. It was built by *Charles* VIII. *anno* 1485. afterwards adorned and beautified by *Lewis* XII. whoſe Statua is there ſtanding in his royall robes, and the Scepter in his hand. He is accompianed by the four Cardinall vertues expreſſed by way of *Hieroglyphicks*, very properly and cunningly; each of them having its particular Motto, to declare its being. The Kings portraiture alſo as if he were the fifth virtue, had its word under written, and contained in a couple of Verſes, which let all that love the Muſes skip them in the reading, and are theſe:

Quatuor has comites foveo, Cœleſtia dona,
Innocuæ pacis proſpera ſcepira gerens.

From

From the King descend we to the Subjects, *ab equis (quod aiunt) ad asinos*, and the phrase is not much improper; the *French* commonalty being called *the Kings asses*. These are divided into three ranks or Classes, the Clergy, the Nobles, the Paisants; out of which certain delegates or Committees, chosen upon occasion, and sent to the King, did antiently concur to the making of the Supreme Court for Justice in *France*. It was called the Assembly of the three Estates, or the *Conventus ordinum*; and was just like the Parliament of *England*. But these meetings are now forgotten, or out of use; neither, indeed, as this time goeth, can they any way advantage the State; for whereas there are three principall, if not sole causes of these conventions, which are, the desposing of the Regency during the nonage or sickness of a King; the granting Aides and Subsidies; and the redressing of Grievances: there is now another course taken in them. The Parliament of *Paris*, which speaketh, as it is prompted by power and greatness, appointeth the Regent; the Kings themselves with their officers determine of the Taxes; and as concerning their Grievances, the Kings eare is open to private Petitions.

Thus is that little of a Common-wealth which went to the making up of this Monarchie, escheated, or rather devoured by the King, that name alone containing in it both Clergy, Princes and People. So that some of the *French* Counsellors, may say with *Tully* in his Oration for *Marcellus* unto *Cæsar*, *Doleoque cum respub. immortalis esse debeat, eam unius mortalis anima consistere.* Yet I cannot withall but affirme, that the Princes and Nobles of *France*, do, for as much as concerneth themselves, upon all advantages flie off from the Kings obedience; but all this while the poor Paisant is ruined; let the poor Tenant starve, or eat the bread of carefulness, it matters not, so they may have their pleasure, and be counted firme zelots of the common liberty. And certainly this is the issue of it, the former liveth the life of a slave to maintain his Lord in pride and lazinesse; the Lord liveth the life of a King to oppresse his Tenant by fines and exactions. An equality little answering to the old platformes of Republicks. *Aristotle*, *Genius ille naturæ*, as a

learned man calleth him, in his fourth book of Politicks hath an excellent diſcourſe concerning this diſproportion. In that Chapter, his project is, to have a correſpondency ſo far between Subjects under the King or people of the ſame City, that neither the one might be over rich, nor the other too miſerably poor. They, ſaith he, which are too happy, ſtrong, or rich, or greatly favoured, and the like, can not nor will not obey, with which evill they are infected from their infancy. The other through want of theſe things are too abjectly minded and baſe; ſo that the one cannot but command, nor the other but ſerve. And this he calleth δέλων καὶ δεσπότων πόλιν, a City inhabited onely by Slaves and Tyrants. That queſtionleſſe is the moſt perfect and compleat forme of Government, *Ubi veneratur protentem humilis, non timet; antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens*, as *Velleius*. But this is an unhappineſſe of which *France* is not capable; their Lords being Kings, and their Commons Villains.

And not to ſay leſſe of them then indeed they are, the Princes of this Countrey, are but little inferiour in matter of Royalty, to any King abroad; and by conſequence little reſpective, in matter of obedience, to their own King at home. Upon the leaſt diſcontent, they withdraw themſelves from the Court, or put themſelves into armes; and of all other comforts are ever ſure of this, that they ſhall never want partizans. Neither do they uſe to ſtand off from him fearfully, and at diſtance, but juſtifie their revolt by publick Declaration, and think the King much indebted to them, if upon fair terms and an honourable reconcilement, they will pleaſe to put themſelves again into his obedience. *Henry* IV. was a Prince of as undaunted and uncontroulable a ſpirit, as ever any of his predeceſſors, and one that loved to be obeyed; yet was he alſo very frequently baffled by theſe Roytelets, and at the laſt dyed in an affront. The Prince of *Conde* perceiving the Kings affection to his new Lady, began to grow jealous of him, for which reaſon he retired unto *Bruxells*: the King offended at his retreat, ſent after him, and commanded him home. The Prince returned anſwer, that he was the Kings moſt humble

ble Subject and ſervant; but into *France* he would not come unleſſe he might have a Town for his aſſurance; withall he proteſted in publick writing a nullity of any thing that ſhould be done to his prejudice in his abſence. A ſtomachfull reſolution, and misbecoming a Subject; yet in this oppoſition he perſiſted, his humor of diſobedience out-living the King whom he had thus affronted. But theſe tricks are ordinary here, otherwiſe a man might have conſtrued this action, by the term of Rebellion. The chief means whereby theſe Princes become ſo head ſtrong, are an immunity given them by their Kings, and a liberty which they have taken to themſelves. By their Kings they have been abſolutely exempted from all Tributes, Tolles, Taxes, Cuſtomes, Impoſitions and Subſidies. By them alſo they have been eſtated in whole entire Provinces, with a power of *haute and main Juſtice* (as the Lawyers term it) paſſed over to them; the Kings having ſcarce an homage or acknowledgment of them. To this they have added much for their ſtrength and ſecurity, by the inſconcing and fortifying of their houſes, which both often moveth, and afterwards inableth them to contemn his Majeſty. An example we have of this in the Caſtle of *Rochfort* belonging to the Duke of *Tremoville*, which in the long Civill wars endured a ſiege of 5000 ſhot, and yet was not taken. A very impolitick courſe (in my conceit) of the *French*, to beſtow honours and immunities upon thoſe, *Qui* (as the Hiſtorian noteth) *ea ſuo arbitrio aut repoſituri, aut retenturi videantur; quique modum habent in ſua voluntate.* For upon a knowledge of this ſtrength in themſelves, the Princes have been always prone to Civill wars, as having ſufficient means for ſafety and reſiſtance On this ground alſo they ſlight the Kings authority, and diſobey his Juſtice. In ſo much that the greater ſort of Nobles in this Kingdome, can ſeldome be arraigned or executed in perſon; and therefore the Lawes condemn them in their images, and hang them in their pictures. A pretty device to mock Juſtice. If by chance, or ſome handſome ſleight, any of them are apprehended, they are put under a ſure guard, and not done to death without great fear of tumult and unquietneſſe.

Neither is it *unus & alter*, only ſome two or three, that

thus ſtand upon their diſtance with the King, but even all the Nobility of the Realm, a rout ſo diſordered, unconfined, and numberleſſe, that even *Fabius* himſelf would be out of breath in making the reckoning. I ſpeak not here of thoſe that are ſtyled *La Nobleſſe*, but of *Titulados*, men only of titular Nobility, of the degree of Baron and above. Of theſe there is in this Countrey a number almoſt innumerable. *Quot Cælum Stellas*; take quantity for quantity, and I dare be of the opinion, that heaven hath not more Stars, then *France* Nobles. You ſhall meet with them ſo thick in the Kings Court eſpecially, that you would think it almoſt impoſſible the Countrey ſhould bear any other fruit. This, I think, I may ſafely affirme, and without Hyperbole, that they have there as many Princes, as we in *England* have Dukes; as many Dukes, as we Earls; as many Earls, as we Barons; and as many Barons as we have Knights; a jolly company, and ſuch as know their own ſtrength too. I cannot therefore but much marvell, that theſe Kings ſhould be ſo prodigall in conferring honours; conſidering this, that every Noble man he createth, is ſo great a weakning to his power.

On the other ſide, I cannot but as much wonder at ſome of our Nation, who have murmured againſt our late Soveraign, and accuſed him of an unpardonable unthriftineſs, in beſtowing the dignities of his Realm, with ſo full and liberall a hand. Certainly, could there any danger have ariſen by it unto the State, I could have been as impatient of it as another. But with us, titles and ennoblings in this kind, are only either the Kings favour, or the parties merit, and maketh whomſoever he be that receiveth them, rather reverenced then powerfull. *Raro eorum honoribus invidetur, quorum vis non timetur*, was a good Aphoriſme in the dayes of *Paterculus*; and may for ought I know be as good ſtill. Why ſhould I envie any man that honour, which taketh not from my ſafety; or repine at my Soveraign for raiſing any of his Servants into an higher degree of eminency, when that favour cannot make them exorbitant? Beſides it concerneth the improvement of the Exchequer, at the occaſions of Subſidies, and the glory of the Kingdome, when the Prince

Prince is not attended by men meerly of the vulgar. Add to this, the few Noble men of any title wch he found at his happy coming in amongſt us, and the additions of power which his comming brought unto us; and we ſhall finde it proportionable, that he ſhould enlarge our Nobility, with our Empire: neither yet have we, indeed, a number to be talked of, comparing us with our neighbour Nations. We may ſee all of the three firſt ranks in the books of *Milles*, *Brooke*, and *Vincent*; and we are promiſed alſo a Catalogue of the Creations and ſucceſſions of all our Barons. Then we ſhould ſee that as yet we have not ſurfeited. Were this care taken by the Heralds in *France*, perhaps the Nobility there would not ſeem ſo numberleſſe; ſure I am not ſo confuſed. But this is the main vice of that profeſſion, of ſix Heralds which they have amongſt them, *viz.* *Montjoy*, *Normandy*, *Guyenne*, *Valys*, *Bretagne*, and *Burgogne*, not one of them is reported to be a *Genealogiſt*; neither were their Predeceſſors better affected to this ſtudy. *Paradine* the only man that ever was amongſt them, hath drawn down the Genealogies of 24 of the chief families, all ancient and of the bloud, in which he hath excellently well diſcharged himſelf. But what a ſmall pittance is that compared to the preſent multitude?

The Nobles being ſo populous, it cannot be but the *Nobleſſe*, as they call them; that is, the Gentry, muſt needs be thick ſet and only not innumerable. Of theſe Nobles there are ſome which hold their eſtates immediately of the Crown, and they have the like immunities with the Princes. Some hold their Feiſes (or *feuda*) of ſome other of the Lords, and he hath only *Baſſe Juſtice* permitted to him, as to mulct and amerce his Tenants, to impriſon them, or give them any other correction under death. All of them have power to raiſe and inhance up their Rents, to Tax his Subjects on occaſion, and to prohibit them ſuch pleaſures, as they think fit to be reſerved for themſelves. By *Brettaul* in *Picardy*, I ſaw a poſt faſtned in the ground, like a race-poſt with us, and therein an inſcription; I preſently made to it, as hoping to have heard of ſome memorable battell there foughten; but when I came at it, I found it to be nothing

but

but a Declaration of the Prince of *Condes* pleasure, that no man should hunt in those quarters; afterwards I observed them to be very frequent. But not to wander through all particulars, I will in some few of them only give instance of their power here. The first is *Droict de bailli age*, power to keep Assize, or to have under him a *Bailli*, and a Superiour seat of Justice, for the decision of such causes as fall under the compasse of ordinary jurisdiction. In this Court there is notice taken of Treasons, Robberies, Murders, Protections, Pardons, Faires, Markets, and other matters of priviledge. Next they have a Court of ordinary jurisdiction, and therein a Judge whom they call *Le guarde de Justice*, for the decision of smaller businesse, as Debts, Trespasses, breach of the Kings peace, and the like In this the purse is only emptied, the other extendeth to the taking of life also; for which cause every one which hath *Haute Justice* annexed to his Feise, hath also his peculiar Gibbet; nay which is wonderfully methodicall, by the criticisme of the Gibbet, you may judge at the quality of him that owneth it. For the Gibbet of one of the Nobles hath but two pillars, that of the Chastellan three, the Barons four, the Earls six, the Dukes eight; and yet this difference is rather precise then generall. The last of their *jura regalia*, which I will here speak of, is the command they have upon their people, to follow them unto the wars; a command not so advantagious to the Lord, as dangerous to the Kingdom.

Thus live the *French* Princes, thus the Nobles. Those sheep which God and the Lawes hath brought under them, they do not sheer but fleece; and which is worse then this, having themselves taken away the Wooll, they give up the naked carkasse to the King. *Tondi oves meas volo, non deglubi*, was accounted one of the golden sayings of *Tiberius*; but it is not currant here in *France*. Here the Lords and the King, though otherwise at oddes amongst themselves, will be sure to agree in this, the undoing and oppressing of the poor Paisant; *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, but both against *Judah*, saith the Scripture.

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The reaſon why they thus deſire the poverty of the Commons, is, as they pretend, the ſafety of the State, and their owne particulars. Were the people once warmed with the feeling of eaſe and their own riches, they would preſently be hearkning after the warres; and if no imployment were proffered abroad, they would make ſome at home. Hiſtories and experience hath taught us enough of their humour in this kind; it being impoſſible for this hot-headed, and hare-brained people, not to be doing. *Si extraneus deeſt, domi hoſtem quærunt*, as *Juſtin* hath obſerved of the Ancient *Spaniards*; a prety quality, and for which they have often ſmarted.

Chap. V.

The baſe and low eſtate of the French *Paiſant. The miſery of them under their Lord. The bed of* Procruſtes. *The ſuppreſſing of the Subject prejudiciall to a State. The wiſdome of* Henry VII. *The* French *forces all in the* Cavallerie. *The cruell impoſitions laid upon the people by the King. No Demaine in* France. *Why the tryall by twelve men can be uſed only in* England. *The Gabell of Salt. The Popes licence for wenching. The Gabell of whom refuſed, and why. The* Gaſcoines *impatient of Taxes. The taille, and taillion. The Pancarke or Aides. The vain reſiſtance of thoſe of* Paris. *The Court of Aides. The manner of gathering the Kings moneys. The Kings revenue. The corruption of the* French *publicans. King* Lewis *why called the juſt. The monies currant in* France. *The gold of* Spain *more Catholick then the King. The happineſſe of the* Engliſh *Subjects. A congratulation unto* England. *The concluſion of the firſt Journey.*

BY that which hath been ſpoken already of the Nobles, we may partly gueſſe at the poor eſtate of the Paiſant, or Countreymen; of whom we will not now ſpeak, as ſubjects to their Lords, and how far they are under their commandment; but how miſerable and wretched they are in their Apparell and their Houſes. For their Apparell it is well they can allow themſelves Canvaſſe,

Canvaſſe, or an outſide of that nature. As for Cloth, it is above their purſe equally, and their ambition; if they can aſpire unto Fuſtian, they are as happy as their wiſhes, and he that is ſo arrayed, will not ſpare to aime at the beſt place in the Pariſh, even unto that of the Church-warden. When they go to plough or to the Church, they have ſhooes and ſtockins; at other times they make bold with nature, and wear their skins. Hats they will not want, though their bellies pinch for it; and that you may be ſure they have them, they will alwayes keep them on their heads: the moſt impudent cuſtome of a beggerly fortune, that ever I met with, and which already hath had my bleſſing. As for the women, they know in what degree nature hath created them, and therefore dare not be ſo fine as their Husbands; ſome of them never had above one pair of ſtockins in all their lives, which they wear every day, for indeed they are very durable. The goodneſſe of their faces tell us, that they have no need of a band, therefore they uſe none. And as concerning Petticoats, ſo it is, that all of them have ſuch a garment, but moſt of them ſo ſhort, that you would imagine them to be cut off at the placket. When the Parents have ſufficiently worn theſe veſtures, and that commonly is till the rottenneſſe of them will ſave the labour of undreſſing, they are a new-cut-out and fitted to the children. Search into their houſes, and you ſhall finde them very wretched, deſtitute as well of furniture as proviſion. No Butter ſalted up againſt Winter, no powdring tub, no Pullein in the Rick-barten, no fleſh in the pot or at the ſpit, and which is worſt, no money to buy them. The deſcription of the poor aged couple *Philemon* and *Baucis* in the eight book of the *Metamorphoſis*, is a perfect character of the *French* Paiſant, in his houſe-keeping; though I cannot affirme, that if *Jupiter* and *Mercury* did come amongſt them, they ſhould have ſo hearty an entertainment; for thus *Ovid* marſhalleth the diſhes:

Ponitur hic bicolor ſinceræ bacca Minervæ,
Intybaque, & radix, & lactis maſſa coacti,
Ovaque non acri leviter verſata favilla,
Prunaque, & in patulis redolentia mala caniſtris.
Hic nux, hic mixta eſt rugoſis carica palmis,
Et de purpureis collectæ vitibus uvæ;
Omnia fictilibus nitide. ——

They on the table ſet *Minerva's* fruit,
The double-colour'd Olive, Endive-root;
Radiſh and Cheeſe: and to the board there came
A diſh of Egges, rear-roaſted by the flame.
Next they had Nuts, courſe Dates and Lenten figs,
And Apples from a basket made of twigs,
And Plums, and Graps cut newly from the tree:
All ſerv'd in earthen diſhes, Houſewiſely.

But you muſt not look for this cheer often. At Wakes or Feaſts dayes, you may perchance be ſo happy as to ſee this plenty; but at other times, *Olus omne patella*, the beſt proviſion they can ſhew you is a piece of Bacon wherewith they fatten their pottage; and now and then the inwards of Beaſts killed for the Gentlemen. But of all miſeries, this me thinketh is the greateſt, that ſowing ſo many acres of excellent wheat in an year, and gathering in ſuch a plentifull Vintage as they do, they ſhould not yet be ſo fortunate, as to eat white bread, or drink wine; for ſuch infinite rents do they pay to their Lords, and ſuch innumerable taxes to the King, that the profits ariſing out of thoſe commodities, are only ſufficient to pay their duties, and keep them from the extremities of cold and famine. The bread then which they eat, is of the courſeſt flowre, and ſo black, that it cannot admit the name of brown. And as for their drink, they have recourſe to the next Fountain. A people of any, the moſt unfortunate, not permitted to enjoy the fruit of their labours; and ſuch as above all

ethers

others are subject to that *Sarcasme* in the Gospell, *This man planted a Vineyard, and doth not drink of the fruit thereof.*

Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, artes.

Yet were their case not altogether so deplorable, if there were but hopes left to them of a better, if they could but compasse certainty, that a painfull drudging and a thrifty saving, would one day bring them out of this hell of bondage. In this, questionlesse, they are intirely miserable, in that they are sensible of the wretchednesse of their present fortunes, and dare not labour nor expect an alteration. If industry and a sparing hand hath raised any of this afflicted people so high, that he is but 40*s.* or 5*l.* richer then his neighbour, his Lord immediately enhaunceth his Rents, and enformeth the Kings task-masters of his riches, by which means he is within two or three years brought again to equall poverty with the rest. A strange course, and much different from that of *England*, where the Gentry take a delight in having their Tenants thrive under them, and hold it no crime in any that hold of them to be wealthy. On the other side, those of *France* can abide no body to gain or grow rich upon their farmes; and therefore thus upon occasions rack their poor Tenants. In which they are like the Tyrant *Procrustes*, who laying hands upon all he met, cast them upon his bed; if they were shorter then it, he racked their joynts till he had made them even to it, if they were longer, he cut as much of their bodies from them, as did hang over; so keeping all that fell into his power in an equality. All the *French* Lords are like that Tyrant.

How much this course doth depresse the military power of this Kingdome is apparent by the true principles of war, and the examples of other Countries. For it hath been held by the generall opinion of the best judgements in matters of war, that the main Buttresse and Pillar of an Army is the foot, or (as the Martialists term it) the *Infantery*. Now to make a good Infantery, it requireth that men

be brought up not in a ſlaviſh and needy faſhion of life, but in ſome free and liberall manner. Therefore it is well obſerved by the Vicount St. *Albans* in his Hiſtory of *Henry* VII. that if a State run moſt to Nobles and Gentry, and that the Husbandmen be but as their meer drudges, or elſe ſimply Cottagers, that that State may have a good Cavallery, but never good ſtable bands of foot. Like to Coppice woods, in which if you let them grow too thick in the ſtadles, they run to buſhes or bryers, and have little clean under-wood. Neither is this in *France* only, but in *Italy* alſo, and ſome other parts abroad; in ſo much, that they are enforced to imploy mercenary Souldiers for their battalions of foot: whereby it cometh to paſſe, that in thoſe Countries they have much people, and few men. On this conſideration King *Henry* VII. one of the wiſeſt of our Princes took a courſe ſo cunning and wholeſome, for the increaſe of the military power of his Realm; that though it be much leſſe in territory, yet it ſhould have infinitely more Souldiers of its native forces, then its neighbour Nations. For in the fourth year of his Reign, there paſſed an Act of Parliament pretenſively againſt the depopulation of Villages, and decay of tillage, but purpoſedly to inable his ſubjects for the wars. The Act was, *That all houſes of husbandry which had been uſed with twenty acres of ground and upwards, ſhould be maintained and kept up for, together with a competent proportion of Land, to be uſed and occupied with them,* &c. By this means, the houſes being kept up, did of neceſſity enforce a dweller, and that dweller, becauſe of the proportion of Land, not to be a begger, but a man of ſome ſubſtance, able to keep Hinds and Servants, and to ſet the plough a going. An order which did wonderfully concerne the might and manhood of the Kingdome; theſe Farmes being ſufficient to maintaine an able body out of penury; and by conſequence to prepare them for ſervice, and encourage them to higher honours, for

Haud facile emergent, quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi. ———

As the Poet hath it.

But

But this Ordinance is not thought of such use in *France*, where all the hopes of their Armies consist in the Cavallery or the horse; which perhaps is the cause why our Ancestors have won so many battailes upon them. As for the *French* foot, they are quite out of all reputation, and are accounted to be the baseſt and unworthyeſt company in the world.

Besides, should the *French* people be enfranchised, as it were, from the tyranny of their Lords, and estated in freeholds and other tenures, after the manner of *England*, it would much trouble the Councell of *France*, to find out a new way of raising his revenues, which are now meerly sucked out of the bloud and sweat of the Subject. Anticently the Kings of *France* had rich and plentifull demeans, such as was sufficient to maintain their greatnesse and Majesty, without being burdensome unto the Countrey. Pride in matters of sumptuousnesse, and the tedious Civill wars, which have lasted in this Countrey, almost ever since the death of *Henry* II. have been the occasion that most of the Crown lands have been sold and morgaged; in so much that the people are now become the *Demaine*, and the Subject only is the Revenue of the Crown. By the sweat of their browes is the Court fed, and the Souldier paid; and by their labours are the Princes maintained in idlenesse. What impositions soever it pleaseth the King to put upon them, it is almost a point of treason not only to deny, but to question. *Apud illos vere regnatur, nefasque quantum regi liceat, dubitare*; as one of them. The Kings hand lyeth hard upon them, and hath almost thrust them into an *Egyptian* bondage, the poor Paisant being constrained to make up dayly his full tale of bricks, and yet have no straw allowed them. Upon a sight of the miseries and poverties of this people, Sir *John Forteſcue*, Chancellour of *England*, in his book intituled, *De Laudibus legum Angliæ*, concludeth them to be unfit men for Jurors or Judges, should the custome of the Countrey admit of such tryals. For having proved thereunto the Prince, (he was son to *Henry* VI.) that the manner of tryall according to the Common Law, by 12 Jurates, was more commendable then the practise of the Civill or

Emperiall

Emperiall Lawes, by the depoſition only of two witneſſes, or the forced confeſſion of the perſons, arrained, the Prince ſeemed to marvell, *Cur ea lex Angliæ quæ tam frugi & optabilis eſt, non ſit toti mundo communis.* To this he maketh anſwer, by ſhewing the free condition of the *Engliſh* Subjects, who alone are uſed at theſe indictments; men of a fair and large eſtate, ſuch as dwell nigh the place of the deed committed, men that are of ingenuous education, ſuch as ſcorn to be ſuborned or corrupted, and afraid of infamie. Then he ſheweth how in other places all things are contrary, the Husbandman an abſolute begger, eaſie to be bribed by reaſon of his poverty; the Gentlemen living far aſunder, and ſo taking no notice of the fact; the Paiſant alſo neither fearing infamie, nor the loſſe of goods, if he be found faulty, becauſe he hath them not. In the end he concludeth thus, *Ne mireris igitur princeps, ſi lex per quam in Anglia veritas inquiritur, alias non pervagetur nationes, ipſæ namque ut Anglia nequerunt facere ſufficientes conſimileſque Juratas.* The laſt part of the latine, ſavoureth ſomewhat of the Lawyer, the word *Juratas* being put there to ſignifie a *Jury*.

To go over all thoſe impoſitions, which this miſerable people are afflicted withal, were almoſt as wretched as the payment of them; I will therefore ſpeak only of the principall. And here I meet in the firſt place, with the Gabell or Impoſition on Salt. This *Gabelle de ſel*, this Impoſt on Salt was firſt begun by *Philip* the *Long*, who took for it a double (which is half a Sol) upon the pound. After whom *Philip* of *Valoys*, *anno* 1328. doubled that. *Charles* the VII. raiſed it unto three doubles; and *Lewis* the XI. unto ſix. Since that time it hath been altered from ſo much upon the pound to a certain rate on the Mine, which containeth ſome 30 buſhels *Engliſh*; the rates riſing and falling at the Kings pleaſure. This one commodity were very advantagious to the Exchequer, were it all in the Kings hands; but at this time a great part of it is morgaged. It is thought to be worth unto the King three millions of Crowns yearly; that only of *Paris* and the Provoſts ſeven Daughters, being farmed at 1700000 Crowns the year. The late Kings ſince *anno* 1581. being intangled in wars, have been conſtrained to

let

let it out to others; in so much that about *anno* 1599. the King lost above 800000 Crowns yearly: and no longer agone then *anno* 1621. the King taking up 600000 pounds, of the Provost of Merchands and the Eschevines, gave unto them a rent charge of 40000 *l.* yearly, to be issuing out of his Customes of Salt, till their money were repaid them. This Gabell is, indeed, a Monopoly, and that one of the unjustest and unreasonablest in the World. For no man in the Kingdom (those Countries hereafter mentioned excepted) can eat any Salt, but he must buy of the King and at his price, which is most unconscionable; that being sold at *Paris* and elsewhere for five Livres, which in the exempted places is sold for one. Therefore that the Kings profits might not be diminished, there is diligent watch and ward, that no forain Salt be brought into the Land, upon pain of forfeiture and imprisoment. A search which is made so strictly, that we had much ado at *Dieppe* to be pardoned the searching of our trunks and port-mantles, and that not, but upon solemn protestation, that we had none of that commodity. This Salt is of a brown colour, being only such as we in *England* call Bay-salt; and imposed on the Subjects by the Kings Officers with great rigour, for though they have some of their last provision in the house, or perchance would be content (through poverty) to eat meat without it, yet will these cruell villaines enforce them to take such a quantity of them; or howsoever they will have of them so much money.

But this Tyranny is not generall, the *Normans* and *Picards* enduring most of it, and the other Paisant the rest. Much like unto which was the Licence which the Popes and Bishops of old granted in matter of keeping Concubines. For when such as had the charge of gathering the Popes Rents happened upon a Priest which had no Concubine, and for that cause made deniall of the Tributes; the Collectours would return them this answer, that notwithstanding this, they should pay the money, because they might have the keeping of a wench if they would.

This Gabell, as it ſitteth hard on ſome, ſo are there ſome alſo which are never troubled with it. Of this ſort are the Princes in the generall releaſed, and many of the Nobleſs in particular; in ſo much that it was proved unto King *Lewis*, *anno* 1614. that for every Gentleman which took of his Majeſties Salt, there were 2000 of the Commons. There are alſo ſome intire Provinces which refuſe to eat of this Salt, as *Bretagne*, *Gaſcoine*, *Poictou*, *Quercu*, *Xaintogne*, and the County of *Boulonnois*. Of theſe the County of *Boulonnois* pretendeth a peculiar exemption, as belonging immediately to the patrimony of our Lady (*Noſtre Dame*); of which we ſhall learn more when we are in *Bovillon*. The *Bretagnes* came united to the Crown by a fair marriage, and had ſtrength enough to make their own capitulations, when they firſt entred into the *French* ſubjection. Beſides, here are yet divers of the Ducall family living in that Countrey, who would much trouble the peace of the Kingdome, ſhould the people be oppreſſed with this bondage, and they take the protection of them. *Poictou* and *Quercu* have compounded for it with the former Kings, and pay a certain rent yearly, which is called the *Equivalent*. *Xaintogne* is under the command of *Rochell*, of whom it receiveth ſufficient at a better rate. And as for the *Gaſcoynes*, the King dareth not impoſe it upon them for fear of Rebellion. They are a ſtuborne and churliſh people, very impatient of a rigorous yoak, and ſuch which inherit a full meaſure of the *Biſcanes* liberty and ſpirit, from whom they are deſcended. *Le droict de fouage*, the priviledge of levying a certain piece of money upon every chimney in an houſe that ſmoketh, was in times not long ſince one of the *jura regalia* of the *French* Lords, and the people paid it without grumbling; yet when *Edward* the black Prince returned from his unhappy journey into *Spain*, for the paying of his Souldiers to whom he was indebted, laid this *Fouage* upon this people, being then *Engliſh*, they all preſently revolted to the *French*, and brought great prejudice to our affairs in thoſe quarters.

Next to the Gabell of Salt, we may place the Taille or Taillon, which are much of a nature with the Subſidies in

in *England*, as being levied both on Goods and Lands. In this again they differ, the Subsidies of *England* being granted by the people, and the sum of it certain; but this of *France* being at the pleasure of the King, and in what manner he shall please to impose them. Antiently the Tailles were only levyed by way of extraordinary Subsidie, and that but upon four occasions, which were, the Knighting of the King Son, the marriage of his Daughters, a Voyage of the Kings beyond sea, and his Ransome in case he were taken Prisoner; *Les Tailles ne sont point devis de voir ordinaire* (saith *Ragneau*) *ains ont este accordeès durant la neceſſite des affaires ſeulement.* Afterwards they were continually levyed in times of war; and at length *Chales* the VII. made them ordinary. Were it extended equally on all, it would amount to a very fair Revenue. For supposing this, that the Kingdome of *France* containeth 200 millions of Acres (as it doth) and that from every acre there were raised to the King two Sols yearly, which is little in respect of what the Taxes impose upon them: That income alone, besides that which is levyed on Goods personall, would amount to two millions of pounds in a year. But this payment also lyeth on the Paisant; the greater Towns, the officers of the Kings house, the Officers of War, the President, Counsellors and Officers of the Courts of Parliament, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Scholars of the University being freed from it.

That which they call the Taillon, was intended for the ease of the Countrey, though now it prove one of the greatest burdens unto it. In former times the Kings Souldiers lay all upon the charge of the Villages, the poor people being fain to finde them diet, lodging, and all necessaries, for themselves, their horses, and the harlots which they brought with them. If they were not well pleased with their entertainment, they used commonly to beat their Host, abuse his family, and rob him of that small provision, which he had laid up for his children; and all this *Cum privilegio.* Thus did they move from one Village to another, and at the last again returned to them from whence they came; *Ita ut non ſit ibi villula una expers cala-*

mitatis iſtius ; quæ non ſemel aut bis in anno, hac nefanda preſſura depiletur, as Sir *John Forteſcue* obſerved in his time. To redreſſe this miſchief, King *Henry* II. *anno* 1549. raiſed this impoſition called the Taillon.

The *Pancarte* comprehendeth in it divers particular Impoſts, but eſpecially the Sol upon the Livre; that is, the twentieth penny of all things bought or ſold, Corne, Sallets, and the like only excepted. Upon wine, beſides the Sol upon the Livre, he hath his ſeverall Cuſtomes of the entrance of it into any of his Cities, paſſages by Land, Sea or Rivers. To theſe *Charles* the IX. *anno* 1461. added a Tax of five Sols upon every Muye (which is the third part of a Tun) and yet when all this is done, the poor Vintner payeth unto the King the eight penny he takes for that Wine which he ſelleth. In this *Pancarte* is alſo contained the *Haut paſſage*, which are the Tolles paid unto the King for paſſage of Men and Cattell over his bridges, and his City gates, as alſo for all ſuch commodities as they bring with them: a good round ſum conſidering the largeneſſe of the Kingdome; the through-fare of *Lyons*, being farmed yearly of the King for 100000 Crowns. Hereunto belong alſo the *Aides*, which are a Tax of the Sol alſo in the Livre, upon all ſorts of Fruits, Proviſion, Wares, and Merchandiſe, granted firſt unto *Charles* Duke of *Normandy*, when *John* his father was Priſoner in *England*, and ſince made perpetuall. For ſuch is the lamentable fate of this Countrey, that their kindneſſes are made duty; and thoſe moneys which they once grant out of love, are always after exacted of them, and payed out of neceſſity. The *Bedroll* of all theſe impoſitions and Taxes, is called the *Pancarte*, becauſe it was hanged in a frame, like as the Officers fees are in our Dioceſan Courts; the word *Pan* ſignifying a frame or a pane of Wainſcot. Theſe Impoſitions time and cuſtome hath now made tolerable, though at firſt they ſeemed very burdenſome, and moved many Cities to murmuring, ſome to rebellion; amongſt others, the City of *Paris*, proud of her antient liberties and immunities, refuſed to admit of it. This indignity ſo incenſed *Charles* the VI. their King, then young and in hot bloud, that he ſeized into his hands all

their

their priviledges, took from them their *Provoſt des Merchands*, and the *Eſchevins*, as alſo the Keyes of their gates, and the Chaines of their ſtreets, and making through the whole Town ſuch a face of mourning, that one might juſtly have ſaid,

Hæc facies Troje, cum caperetur, erat.

This hapned in the year 1383. and was for five years together continued, which time being expired, and other Cities warned by that example, the Impoſition was eſtabliſhed, and the priviledges reſtored. For the better regulating of the Profits ariſing from theſe Impoſts, the *French* King erected a Court called, *Le Cour des Aides*; it conſiſted at the firſt of the Generals of the Aides, and of any four of the Lords of the Councell, whom they would call to their aſſiſtance. Afterwards *Charles* the V. *anno* 1380 or thereabouts ſetled it in *Paris*, and cauſed it to be numbred as one of the Soveraign Courts. *Lewis* the XI. diſſolved it, and committed the managing of his Aids to his houſhold ſervants, as loath to have any publick officers take notice how he fleeced his people. *Anno* 1464. it was reſtored again. And finally, *Henry* II. *anno* 1551. added to it a ſecond Chamber compoſed of two Preſidents and eight Counſellours; one of which Preſidents, named Mr. *Chevalier*, is ſaid to be the beſt monied man of all *France*. There are alſo others of theſe Courts in the Countrey, as one at *Roven*, one at *Montferrant* in *Avergne*, one at *Burdeaux*, and another at *Montpelier*, eſtabliſhed by *Charles* VII. *anno* 1437.

For the levying and gathering up of theſe Taxes, you muſt know that the whole Countrey of *France* is divided into 21 *Generalities*, or Counties as it were, and thoſe again into divers *Eſlections*, which are much like our Hundreds. In every of the *Generalities*, there are 10 or 12 Treaſurers, 9 Receivers for the generalty, and as many Comptollers; and in the particular *Eſlections*, eight Receivers and as many Comptrollers, beſides all under-officers, which are thought to amount in all to 30000 men.

When then the King levyeth his Taxes, he ſendeth his Letters Patents to the principall Officers of every Generalty, whom they call *Les Genereaux des Aides*, and they diſpatch their Warrant to the *Eſleus* or Commiſſioners. Theſe taxing every one of the Pariſhes and Villages within their ſeverall diviſions at a certain rate, ſend their receivers to collect it, who give account for it to their Comptrollers. By them it aſcendeth to the *Eſleus*, from him to the Receiver generall of that Generalty, next to the Comptroller, then to the Treaſurer, afterwards to the *Generall des Aides*; and ſo

Per varios caſus & tot diſcrimina rerum
Tendimus ad Latium. ———

By all theſe hands it is at laſt conveyed into the Kings purſe; in which ſeverall paſſages, *Neceſſe eſt ut aliquid hæreat*, it cannot be but that it muſt have many a ſhrewd ſnatch. In ſo much that I was told by a Gentleman of good credence in *France*, that there could not be gathered by the ſeverall exactions above ſpecified, and other deviſes of prowling, which I have omitted, leſſe then 85 millions a year, whereof the King receiveth 15 only. A report not altogether to be ſlighted, conſidering the Preſident of the Court of Accomptes made it evident to the Aſſembly at *Bloys*, in the time of King *Henry* IV. that by the time that every one of the Officers had his ſhare of it, there came not to the Kings Coffers one *teſton* (which is 1 *s.* 2 *d.*) of a Crown; ſo that by reckoning 5 *teſtons* to a Crown or *Eſcu* (as it is but 2 *d.* over) theſe Officers muſt collect five times the money which they pay the King, which amounteth to 75 millions, and is not much ſhort of that proportion which before I ſpake of. The Kings Revenues then, notwithſtanding this infinite oppreſſion of his people, amounteth to 15 millions (ſome would have it 18.) which is a good improvement in reſpect of what they were in times afore. *Lewis* the XI. as good a husband of his Crown, as ever any was in *France*, gathering but one and a half only. But as you reckon the flood, ſo alſo if you may reckon the ebb of his Treaſures, you will finde much wanting of a full ſea in his Coffers; it being

ing generally known, that the fees of officers, pensions, garrisons, and the men of armes, draw from him yearly no fewer then 6 of his 15 millions.

True it is, that his Treasure hath many good helps by way of Escheat, and that most frequently, when he cometh to take an accompt of his Treasurers and other Officers. A Nation so abominably full of base and unmanly villaines in their severall charges, that the *Publicans* of *Old-Rome*, were milke and white-broath to them. For so miserably do they abuse the poor Paisant, that if he hath in all the world but eight Sols, it shall go hard, but he will extort from him five of them.

Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirundo.

He is just of the nature of the Horse-leech, when he hath once gotten hold of you, he will never let you go till he be filled. And which is most strange, he thinks it a greater clemency that he hath left the poor man some of his money, then the injury was in wresting from him the rest. Nay they will brag of it, when they have taken but five of the eight Sols, that they have given him three, and expect thanks for it. A kindnesse of a very theevish nature, it being the condition of Robbers, as *Tully* hath observed, *Ut commemorent iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint.* Were the people but so happy, as to have a certain rate set upon their miseries, it could not but be a greater ease to them, and would well defend them from the tyrany of these Theeves. But (which is not the least part of their wretchednesse) their Taxings and Assessements are left arbitrary, and are exacted accordingly as these Publicans will give out of the Kings necessities; so that the Countryman hath no other remedy, then to give *Cerberus* a crust, as the saying is, to kisse his rod and hug his punishment. By this means the Questors thrive abundantly, it being commonly said of them, *Heri bouvier aviourdhui chevalier*, to day a Swine-heard, to morrow a Gentleman; and certainly they grow into great riches. Mr. *Beaumarchais* one of the Treasurers (Mr. *De Vilroy*, who slew the Marquesse *D' Ancre*, marryed his only Daughter)

Daughter) having raked unto himself, by the villanous abuse of his place, no lesse then 22 millions of Livres, as it was commonly reported. But he is not like to carry it to his grave, the King having seized upon a good part of it, and himself being condemned to the gallowes by the grand *Chambre* of Parliament, though as yet he cannot be apprehended and advanced to the Ladder. And this hath been the end of many of them, since the reign of this present King, whom (it may be) for this cause, they call *Lewis* the *just*. This fashion of affixing Epithites to the names of their Kings was in great use heretofore with this Nation. *Carolus* the son of *Pepin*, was by them surnamed *Le Magne*: *Lewis* his son *Debonaire*, and so of the rest. Since the time of *Charles* VI. who was by them surnamed the *Beloved*, it was discontinued; and now revived again in the persons of King *Henry* IV. and his son King *Lewis*. But this by the way. It may be also he is called the *Just* by way of negation, because he hath yet committed no notable act of injustice, (for I wink at his cruell and unjust slaughter at *Nigrepelisse*) it may be also to keep him continually in mind of his duty, that he may make himself worthy of that attribute;

Vere imperator sui nominis, ———

As one said of *Severus*.

Let us add one more misery to the State and commonalty of *France*, and that is, the base and corrupt money in it. For besides the *Sol*, which is made of Tinne, they have the *Double* made of Brasse, whereof six make a *Sol*, and the *Denier*, whereof two make a *Double*; a coyne so vile and small of value, that 120 of them go to an *English* shilling. These are the common coynes of the Countrey; silver and gold not being to be seen but upon holydayes. As for their silver, it is most of it of their own coyning, but all exceeding clipt and shaven; their gold being most of it *Spanish*. In my little being in the Countrey, though I casually saw much gold, I could only see two pieces

pieces of *French* ſtampe, the reſt coming all from *Spain*, as *Piſtolets*, *Demi piſtolets* and *Double-piſtolets*. Neither is *France* alone furniſhed thus with *Caſtilian* coyn, it is the happineſſe alſo of other Countries, as *Italy*, *Barbary*, *Brabant*, and elſewhere; and indeed it is kindly done of him, that being the ſole Monopoliſt of the mines, he will yet let other nations have a ſhare in the mettle. Were the King as Catholick as his money, I think I ſhould be in ſome fear of him, till then we may lawfully take that ambitious title from the King, and beſtow it upon his pictures. The Soveraignty of the *Spaniſh* gold is more univerſally embraced, and more ſeriouſly acknowledged in moſt parts of Chriſtendome, then that of him which ſtampt it. To this he which entituleth himſelf Catholick is but a priſoner, and never ſaw half thoſe Provinces, in which this more powerfull Monarch hath been heartily welcomed. Yet if he will needs be King, let him grow ſomewhat more jealous of his Queen, and confeſſe that his gold doth royally deſerve his imbraces, whom before the extent of his dominion, the Ancient Poets ſtyled *Regina pecunia*. True it is, that by the figure and ſhape of this Empereſſe, you would little think her to be lovely, and leſſe worthy of your imbracement. The ſtones which little boyes break into Quoits, are a great deal better proportioned; if a *Geometrician* were to take the angles of it, I think it would quite put him beſides his *Euclide*; neither can I tell to what thing in the world fitter to reſemble it, then a *French* Cheeſe; for it is neither long, nor ſquare, nor round, nor thin, nor thick, nor any one of theſe, but yet all, and yet none of them. No queſtion, but it was the Kings deſires, by this unſightly dreſſing of his Lady, to make men out of love with her, that ſo he might keep her to himſelf. But in this his hopes have conuſened him; for as in other Cuckoldries, ſo in this; ſome men will be bold to keep his wife from him, be it only in ſpight.

Theſe circumſtances thus laid together and conſidered, we may the clearer and the better ſee our own felicities, which to expreſſe generally and in a word, is to ſay only this, *That the Engliſh Subject is in no circumſtance a French-man.*

Here have we our money made of the beſt and pureſt, that only excepted, which a charitable conſideration hath coyned into farthings. Here have we our Kings royally, and to the envie of the world, magnificently provided for, without the ſweat and bloud of the people, no Pillages, no Impoſitions upon our private wares, no Gabels upon our commodities; *Nullum in tam ingenti regno vectigal, non in urbibus pontiumve diſcriminibus, Publicanorum ſtationes*; as one truely hath obſerved of us. The monies which the King wanteth to ſupply his neceſſities, are here freely given him. He doth not here compell our bounties, but accept them. The Laws by which we are governed, we in part are makers of, each Paiſant of the Countrey hath a free voice in the enacting of them; if not in his perſon, yet in his proxie. We are not here ſubject to the luſts and tyranny of our Lords, and may therefore ſay ſafely, what the *Jewes* ſpake factiouſly, *That we have no King but Cæſar.* The greateſt Prince here is ſubject with us to the ſame Law, and when we ſtand before the tribunall of the Judge, we acknowledge no difference. Here do we inhabite our own houſes, plough our own Lands, enjoy the fruits of our labour, comfort our ſelves with the wives of our youth, and ſee our ſelves grow up in thoſe children, which ſhall inherit after us the ſame felicities. But I forget my ſelf. To endevour the numbring of Gods bleſſings, may perhaps deſerve as great a puniſhment as *Davids* numbring the people. I conclude with the Poet,

O fortunati minium, bona ſi ſua norint
Agricolæ noſtri.——

And ſo I take my leave of *France*, and prepare for *England*, towards which (having ſtayed 3 days for winde and company) we ſet forwards on Wedneſday the 3 of *Auguſt*, the day exceeding fair, the Sea as quiet, and the winde ſo ſtill that the Mariners were fain to take down their Sails, and betake themſelves unto their Oares. Yet at the laſt with much endevour on their ſide, and no leſſe patience on

ours

ours, we were brought into the midſt of the channell, when ſuddainly———

But ſoft, what white is that which I eſpie,
Which with its luſtre doth ecl'ipſe mine eye;
That which doth Neptunes fury ſo diſdain,
And beates the Billow back into the main?
Is it ſome dreadfull Scylla faſtned there,
To ſhake the Sailor into prayer and fear?
Or is 't ſome Iſland floating on the wave,
Of which in writers we the ſtory have?
Tis England, *ha! tis ſo! clap, clap your hands,*
That the full noiſe may ſtrike the neighbouring Lands
Into a Palſie. Doth not that lov'd name
Move you to extaſie? O were the ſame
As dear to you as me, that very word
Would make you dance and caper over board.
Dull ſhipmen! how they move not, how their houſes
Grow to the planks; yet ſtay, here's ſport enough.
For ſee, the ſea Nymphs foot it, and the fiſh
Leap their high meaſures equall to my wiſh.
Triton doth ſound his ſhell, and to delight me
Old Nereus hobleth with his Amphitrite.
Excellent triumphs! But (curs'd fates!) the main
Quickly divides and takes them in again;
And leaves me dying, till I come to land,
And kiſſe my deareſt Mother in her ſand.

Hail happy England! *hail thou ſweeteſt Iſle,*
Within whoſe bounds, no Pagan rites defile
The purer faith: Chriſt is by Saints not mated,
And he alone is worſhip'd that created.
In thee the labouring man enjoyes his wealth,
Not ſubject to his Lords rape, or the ſtealth
Of hungry Publicans. In thee thy King
Feares not the power of any underling;
But is himſelf, and by his awfull word,
Commands not more the begger then the Lord.

In thee thoſe heavenly beauties live, would make
Moſt of the Gods turn mortals for their ſake.
Such as outgo report, and make fame ſee
They ſtand above her big'ſt Hyperbole.
And yet to ſtrangers will not grutch the bliſſe
Of ſalutation, and an harmeleſſe kiſſe.

Hail then ſweet England! *may I breath my laſt,*
In thy low'd armes, and when my dayes are paſt,
And to the ſilence of the grave I muſt;
All I deſire is, thou wouldſt keep my duſt.

The End of the Fifth Book and the firſt Journey.

THE

THE SECOND JOURNEY:

CONTAINING

A SURVEY of the ESTATE

of the two ILANDS

Guernzey and Jarsey,

With the ISLES appending.

According to their Politie,

and Formes of Government, both

Ecclesiasticall and *Civill.*

THE SIXTH BOOK.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *Henry Seile* over against St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleetstreet*, 1656.

A SURVEY of the ESTATE OF Guernzey and Jarsey, &c.

The Entrance.

(1) *The occasion of*, &c. (2) *Introduction to this Work.* (3) *The Dedication*, (4) *and Method of the whole. The beginning, continuance of our Voyage; with the most remarkable passages which hapned in it. The mercenary falsnesse of the* Dutch *exemplified in the dealing of a man of warre.*

WHen first I undertook to attend upon my Lord of *Danby* to the Islands of *Guernzey* and *Jarsey*; besides the purpose which I had of doing service to his Lordship, I resolved also to do somewhat for my self: and, if possible, unto the places. For my self, in bettering, what

what I could my understanding, if peradventure the persons or the place might add unto me the knowledge of any one thing, to which I was a stranger. At the least I was in hope to satisfy my curiosity, as being not a little emulous of this kind of living, *Multorum mores hominum qui vidit & urbes*; which had seen so much of men and of their manners. It was also not the last part of mine intention, to do something in the honour of the Island, by committing to memory their Antiquities, by reporting to posterity their Arts of Government, by representing, as in a Tablet, the choyceſt of their beauties; and in a word, by reducing these and the Achievements of the people, as far as the light of Authors could direct me, into the body of an History. But when I had a little made my self acquainted with the place and people, I found nothing in them which might put me to that trouble. The Churches naked of all Monuments, and not so much as the blazon of an Armes permitted in a window, for fear, as I conjecture, of Idolatry. No actions of importance to be heard of in their Legends, in their remembrancers; whereby to ennoble them in time to come, unlesse perhaps some slight allarmes from *France*, may occasion speech of them in our common Chronicles. The Countrey, indeed, exceeding pleasant and delightsome, but yet so small in the extent and circuit, that to speak much of them, were to put the shooe of *Hercules* upon the foot of an Infant. For being in themselves, an abridgement only of the greater works of nature, how could the character and description of them be improved into a Volume? Having thus failed in the most of my designes, I applyed my self to make enquirie after their form of Government, in which, I must needs confesse, I met with much which did exceedingly affect me. Their Lawes, little beholding in the composition of them, to *Justinian*; and of no great affinity with the laws of *England*, which we call Municipall or common. The grand Customarie of *Normandy*, is of most credit with them; and that indeed the only rule by which they are directed, save that in some few passages it hath been altered by our Prince, for the conveniency of this people.

Sed

Sed quid hoc ad Iphycli boves? But what had I, a Prieſt of the Church of *England*, to do with the Laws and Cuſtomes of the *Normans*? Had I gone forward in my purpoſe, I deny not, but I had mingled that knowledge which I have gotten of their Laws, amongſt other my Collections; but failing in the main of my intent, I muſt only make ſuch uſe of them, as ſhall be neceſſary for this preſent argument. An Argument not ſo much as in my thoughts, when firſt I reſolved upon the Journey; as little dreaming that any alterations had lately hapned in the Churches of thoſe Iſlands, or that thoſe alterations could afford one ſuch variety. An Argument more ſutable to my profeſſion, as having had the honour to be reputed with the Clergy; and ſuch as in it ſelf may juſtly be intituled to your Lordſhips patronage. God and the King have raiſed you above your brethren to be a Maſter in our *Iſrael*, a principall pillar in the glorious ſtructure of the Church. An advancement which doth call upon you for the eſtabliſhment and ſupportation of the meaneſt Oratory dependant on the Church of *England*, your moſt indulgent, and in you moſt happy mother. No marvail therefore, if thoſe little Chappels, even thoſe two Tribes and a half, which are on the other ſide of the flood, moſt humbly caſt themſelves at your Lordſhips feet, and by me lay open their eſtate unto you.

Which that I may the better do, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in me, and for your Lordſhips more ample ſatisfaction I ſhall proceed in this order following.

Firſt, I ſhall lay before your Lordſhip, the full ſucceſſe and courſe of our Navigation, till we were ſetled in thoſe Iſlands; that ſo the reſt of this diſcourſe being more materiall, may receive no interruption in the proceſſe of it.

Next, I ſhall briefly, as in a map, preſent your Lordſhip with the ſituation, quality and ſtory of the Iſlands; with ſomewhat alſo of their Cuſtomes, of their Government; but this (as the great Cardinall acknowledgeth the Popes power in temporall affaires) *in ordine tantum ad ſpiritualia*: the better to acquaint you with the occurrents of their Churches.

That done, I ſhall draw down the ſucceſſe of their affairs from the beginning of the Reformation in matters of Religion, to the accompliſhment of that innovation which they had made in point of diſcipline; and therein, the full platforme or diſcipline it ſelf, according as by *Snape* and *Cartwright* it was eſtabliſhed in their Synods.

In the third place, I ſhall ſhew your Lordſhip, by what degrees and means the Miniſters and Church of *Jarſey*, were perſwaded to conforme unto the diſcipline of *England*; together with a copy of thoſe Canons and conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, whereby the Church and Miniſtery of that Iſland is now governed.

Laſt of all, I ſhall commence a ſuit unto your Lordſhip in the name of thoſe of *Guernzey* for their *little ſiſter which hath no breaſts*; that by your Lordſhips place and power the one Iſland may conforme unto the other, and both to *England*. In which I ſhall exhibit unto your Lordſhip a juſt ſurvey of ſuch motives, which may have moſt ſway with you in the furthering of a work ſo commendable; and ſhall adventure alſo upon ſuch particulars, as may conduce to the advancing of the buſineſſe. Not that therein I ſhall preſume poſitively to adviſe your Lordſhip, or to direct you in the readieſt way for the accompliſhment of this deſigne; but that by this propounding of mine own conceits, I may excite your Lordſhip to have recourſe unto the excellent treaſures of your own mind, and thence to faſhion ſuch particulars for this purpoſe, as may be moſt agreeable to your Lordſhips wiſdome.

In order whereunto your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to call to mind that on provocation given unto the *French* at the Iſle of *Rhe*, the King received advertiſement of ſome reciprocall affront intended by the *French* on the Iſles of *Jarſey* and *Guernzey*, with others thereupon appendant, the only remainders of the Dukedome of *Normandy* in the power of the *Engliſh*; and that for the preventing of ſuch inconveniences as might follow on it, it was thought good to ſend the Earl of *Danby* (then Governour of the Iſle of *Guernzey*) with a conſiderable ſupply of Men, and Armes, and Ammunition to make good thoſe Iſlands, by fortifying and aſſuring them againſt

againſt all invaſions. This order ſignified to his Lordſhip about the beginning of *December*, *anno* 1628. he chearfully embraced the ſervice, and prepared accordingly. But being deſerted by his own Chaplaines in regard of the extremity of the ſeaſon, and the viſible danger of the enterpriſe, he propoſed the buſineſſe of that attendance unto me (not otherwiſe relating to him then as to an honourable friend) in whom he found as great a readineſſe and reſolution, as he found coldneſſe in the other. According to his Lordſhips ſummons, I attended him in his Majeſties houſe of St. *James*, a little before the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas*; but neither the Ships, money, nor other neceſſaries being at that time brought together, I was diſmiſſed again at the end of the Holydayes, untill a further intimation of his Lordſhips pleaſure. Toward the latter end of *February* I received a poſitive command to attend his Lordſhip on Friday the 20 of that month, at the houſe of Mr. *Arthur Brumfeild*, in the Pariſh of *Tichfeild* near the Sea, ſituate between *Portſmouth* and *Southhampton*; whither accordingly I went, and where I found a very chearfull entertainment. It was a full week after that, before we heard of his Lordſhips coming, and yet his Lordſhip was fain to tarry two or three dayes before he had any advertiſement that his Ships, Men and Ammunition (which he thought to have found there in readineſſe) were Anchored in the road of *Portſmouth*. News whereof being brought unto us on the Monday morning, we ſpent the remainder of that day in preparations for our Journey, and taking leave of thoſe good friends by whom we were ſo kindly entertained and welcomed.

On Tueſday *March* the 3. about ten in the morning, we went aboard his Majeſties Ship called the *Aſſurance*, being a Ship of 800 tun, furniſhed with 42 pieces of Ordinance, and very well manned with valiant and expert Sailors; welcomed aboard (after the faſhion of the Sea) with all the thunder and lightning which the whole Navy could afford from their ſeverall Ships. Our whole Navy conſiſted of five Veſſels, that is to ſay, the *Aſſurance* ſpoken of before, two of his Majeſties *Pinnaces* called the *Whelps*, a *Catch* of his Majeſties called the *Minikin*, and a Merchants ſhip called

the *Charles*, which carryed the Armes and Ammunition for the use of the Islands. Aboard the Ships were stowed about 400 foot with their severall Officers, two Companies whereof under the command of Collonell *Pipernell* (if I remember his name aright) and Lieutenant Collonell *Francis Connisby* were intended for the Isle of *Guernzey*; the other two under the command of Lieutenant Collonell *Francis Rainford*, and Captain *William Killegre* for the Isle of *Jarsey*. The Admirall of our Navy (but in subordination to his Lordship when he was at Sea) was Sir *Henry Palmer* one of the Admirals or the Narrow-seas. All of them men of note in their severall wayes, and most of them of as much gallantry and ingenuity, as either their own birth or education in the Schoole of war could invest them with. The Sea was very calme and quiet, and the little breath of winde we had, made us move so slowly, that the afternoon was almost spent before we had passed through the Needles, a dangerous passage at all times, except to such only who being well skilled in these sharpe points, and those dreadfull fragments of the Rocks, which so intituled them, could stear a steady course between them: *Scylla* and *Charybdis* in old times, nothing more terrible to the unskilled Mariners of those dayes, then those Rocks to ours. Being got beyond them at the last, though we had got more Sea roome, we had little more winde, which made us move as slowly as before we did, so that we spent the greatest part of the night with no swifter motion, then what was given us by the tide. About 3 of the clock in the morning we had winde enough, but we had it directly in our teeth, which would have quickly brought us to the place we had parted from, if a great Miste arising together with the Sun, had not induced our Mariners to keep themselves aloose in the open Sea for fear of falling on those Rocks wherewith the South side of the *Wight* is made unacceſſable. About 2 of the clock in the afternoon, the winds turning somewhat Eastward, we made on again, but with so little speed, and to so little purpose, that all that night we were fain to lie at *Hull* (as the Mariners phrase it) without any sensible moving either backward or forward, but so uneasily withall, that it must be a very great tempest indeed, which

which gives a passenger a more sickly and unpleasing motion. For my part I had found my self good Sea-proof in my Voyage to *France*, and was not much troubled with those disturbances to which the greatest part of our Land-men were so sensibly subject. On Thursday morning about day-break being within sight of *Portland*, and the winde serving very fitly, we made again for the Islands. At 11 of the clock we discovered the main Land of *Normandy*, called by the Mariners *Le Hagge*. About 2 in the afternoon, we fell even with *Aldernie* or *Aurnie*; and about 3 discerned the Isle of *Jarzey* to which we were bound, at which we aimed, and to which we might have come much sooner then we did had we not found a speciall entertainment by the way to retard our haste. For we were hardly got within sight of *Jarsey* but we descried a sail of *French* consisting of ten barks laden with very good *Gascoyne* Wines, and good choyce of Linen (as they told us afterwards) bound from St. *Malloes* to *New-Haven* for the trade of *Paris*, and convoyed by a *Holland-man of war*, for their safer passage. These being looked on as good prize, our two *Whelpes* and the *Catch* gave chace unto them, a great shot being first made from our Admirals Ship to call them in. The second shot brought in the *Holland-man of war*, who very sordidly and basely betrayed his charge before he came within reach of danger; the rest for the greatest part of the afternoon, spun before the winde, sometimes so neer to their pursuers, that we thought them ours, but presently tacking about, when our *Whelpes* were ready to seaze on them, and the *Catch* to lay fast hold upon them, they gained more way then our light Vessels could recover in a long time after. Never did Duck by frequent diving so escape the Spaniell, or Hare by often turning so avoid the Hounds, as these poor Barks did quit themselves by their dexterity in sailing from the present danger. For my part I may justly say that I never spent an afternoon with greater pleasure, the greater in regard that I knew his Lordships resolution to deal favourably with those poor men if they chanced to fall into his power. Certain I am, that

the deſcription made by *Ovid* of the Hare and Hound, was here fully veryfied, but farre more excellently in the application then the firſt originall; of which thus the Poet:

Vt canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
Vidit, & hic prædam pedibus petit, ille ſalutem;
Alter inhæſuro ſimilis jam jamque tenere
Sperat, & obtento ſtringit veſtigia collo;
Alter in ambiguo eſt, an ſit compreſſus, & ipſis
Morſibus eripitur, tangentiaque ora relinquit.

Which I finde thus *Engliſhed* by *G. Sandis.*

As when the Hare the ſpeedy Gray-hound ſpies;
His feet for prey, ſhe hers for ſafety plies.
Now beares he up, now, now he hopes to fetch her;
And with his ſnowt extended ſtrains to catch her.
Not knowing whether caught or no, ſhe ſlips
Out of his wide-ſtretcht-jawes and touching lips.

But at the laſt a little before the cloſe of the evening, three of them being borded and brought under Lee of our Admirall, the reſt were put to a neceſſity of yeelding, or venturing themſelves between our two great ſhips and the ſhoar of *Jarſey*, to which we were now come as near as we could with ſafety. Reſolved upon the laſt courſe and favoured with a ſtrong leading gale, they paſſed by us with ſuch ſpeed and ſo good ſucceſſe, (the duskineſſe of the evening contributing not a little to a fair eſcape) that though we gave them 30 ſhot, yet we were not able to affirme that they received any hurt or dammage by that encounter; with as much joy unto my ſelf (I dare boldly ſay) as to any of thoſe poor men who were ſo much intereſſed

tereſſed in it. This Chaſe being over, and our whole Fleet come together, we Anchored that night in the Port of St. *Oen*, one of the principall Ports of that Iſland; the Inhabitants whereof (but thoſe eſpecially which dwelled in the inland parts) ſtanding all night upon their guard, conceiving by the thunder of ſo many great ſhot, that the whole powers of *France* and the Devill to boot were now falling upon them; not fully ſatisfied in their fears, till by the next riſing of the Sun they deſcried our colours.

On Friday *March* the 6. about nine in the morning (having firſt landed our foot in the long boats) we went aboard his Majeſties *Catch* called the *Minikin*, and doubling the points of *Le Corbiere* and of *Normoint*, we went on ſhoar in the Bay of St. *Heliers*, neer unto *Mount St. Albin* in the Pariſh of St. *Peter*. The greateſt part of which day we ſpent in accommodations and refreſhments, and receiving the viſits of the Gentry which came in very frequently to attend his Lordſhip. You need not think, but that ſleep and a good bed were welcome to us, after ſo long and ill a paſſage; ſo that it was very near high noon before his Lordſhip was capable to receive our ſervices, or we to give him our attendance; after dinner his Lordſhip went to view the Fort *Elizabeth* (the chief ſtrength of the Iſland) and to take order for the fortifying and repair thereof. Which having done he firſt ſecured the Man of War and the three *French* Barks, under the command of that Caſtle; and then gave leave to Sir *Henry Palmer* and the reſt of the ſea Captains to take their pleaſures in Forraging and ſcowring all the Coaſts of *France*, which lay near the Iſlands, commanding them to attend him on the Saturday following. Next he gave liberty to all the *French* which he had taken the day before, whom he cauſed to be landed in their own Countrie, to their great rejoycing, as appeared by the great ſhout they made when they were put into ſome long boats at their own diſpoſing. The three Barks ſtill remaining untouched in the ſtate they were, ſave that ſome wines were taken out of them for his Lordſhips ſpending. On Sunday *March* 8. it was ordered,

ordered, that the people of the Town of St. *Heliers* ſhould have their divine offices in that Church performed ſo early, that it might be left wholly for the uſe of the *Engliſh* by nine of the clock, about which time his Lordſhip attended by the Officers and Souldiers in a ſolemn Military pompe (accompanied with the Governours of the Town and chief men of the Iſland) went toward the Church, where I officiated Divine Service according to the preſcript form of the Church of *England*, and after preached on thoſe words of *David*, *Pſal.* 31. 51. *viz. Offer unto God thanksgiving*, &c. with reference to the good ſucceſſe of our Voyage paſt, and hopes of the like mercies for the time to come. The next day we made a Journey to *Mount Orgueil*, where we were entertained by the Lady *Carteret* (a Daughter of Sir *Francis Douſe* of *Hampſhire*) And after Dinner his Lordſhip went to take a view of the Regiment of Mr. *Joſuah de Carteret*, *Seignieur de la Trinity*, muſtering upon the Green upon *Havre de Bowle* in the Pariſh of St. *Trinitie*. On Tueſday, *March* the 10. his Lordſhip took a view of the Regiment of Mr. *Aron Miſſervie* Col. and on Wedneſday, *March* the 11. went unto St. *Oen*, where we were feaſted by Sir *Philip de Carteret*, whoſe Regiment we likewiſe viewed in the afternoon. The Souldiers of each Regiment very well arrayed, and not unpractiſed in their Armes; but ſuch, as never ſaw more danger then a Training came to. On Thurſday his Lordſhip went into the *Cohu* or Town-hall, attended by Sir *John Palmer* the Deputy Governour, Sir *Philip de Carteret*, the Juſtices, Clergy, and Jurors of the Iſland, with other the ſubordinate Officers thereunto belonging; where being ſet, as in a Parliament or Seſſions, and having given order for redreſſe of ſome grievances by them preſented to him in the name of that people, he declared to them in a grave and eloquent ſpeach the great care which his Majeſty had of their preſervation in ſending Men, Money, Armes, and Ammunition to defend them againſt the common Enemies of their peace and

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conſciences; aſſuring them that if the noiſe of thoſe preparations did not keep the *French* from looking towards them, his Majeſty would not fail to ſend them ſuch a ſtrength of Shipping, as ſhould make that Iſland more impregnable then a wall of Braſſe; in which regard he thought it was not neceſſary for him to adviſe them to continue fathfull to his Majeſties ſervice, or to behave themſelves with reſpect and love towards thoſe Gentlemen, Officers, and common Souldiers, who were reſolved to expoſe themſelves (for defence of them, their Wives and Children) to the utmoſt dangers. And finally, adviſing the common Souldiers to carry themſelves with ſuch ſobriety and moderation towards the natives of the Countrey, (for as for their valour towards the enemies he would make no queſtion) as to give no offence or ſcandall by their converſation. This ſaid, the Aſſembly was diſſolved, to the great ſatisfaction of all parties preſent; the night enſuing and the day following being ſpent for the moſt part in the entertainments of reſt and pleaſures.

The only buſineſſe of that day was the diſpoſing of the three Barks which we took in our Journey, the goods whereof having before been inventoried and apprized by ſome Commiſſioners of the Town, and now expoſed to open ſale, were for the moſt part, bought together with the Barks themſelves by that very *Holland man of warre*, whom they had hired to be their Convoy: Which gave me ſuch a Character of the mercenary and ſordid nature of that people, that of all men living, I ſhould never deſire to have any thing to do with them, unleſſe they might be made uſe of (as the *Gibeonites* were) in *hewing wood, and drawing water for the uſe of the Tabernacle*; I mean in doing ſervile offices to ſome mightier State which would be ſure to keep them under.

On Saturday, *March* the 14. having ſpent the greateſt part of the morning in expectation of the reſt of our Fleet, which found better imployment in the Seas then

they could in the Haven, we went aboard the Merchants ſhip, which before I ſpake of, not made much lighter by the unlading of the one halfe of the Ammunition which was left at *Jarſey*, in regard that the 200 foot which ſhould have been diſtributed in the reſt of the ſhips, were all ſtowed in her. Before night, being met by the reſt of our Fleet, we came to Anchor neer St. *Pier port* or St. *Peters Port* within the Bay of *Caſtle Cornet*, where we preſently landed. The Caſtle divided from the Town and Haven, by the inter-currency of the Sea; in which reſpect we were fain to make uſe of the Caſtle-hall in ſtead of a Chappell. The way to the Town Church being too troubleſome and uncertain to give us the conſtant uſe of that, and the Caſtle yeelding no place elſe of a fit capacity for the receiving of ſo many as gave their diligent attendance at Religious exerciſes.

On Monday, *March* the 16. our Fleet went out to Sea againe, taking the *Charles* with them for their greater ſtrength, which to that end was ſpeedily unladen of ſuch ammunition as was deſigned for the uſe of that Iſland.

The whole time of our ſtay here was ſpent in viſiting the Forts, and Ports, and other places of importance, taking a view of the ſeverall Muſters of the naturall Iſlanders, diſtributing the new come Souldiers in their ſeverall quarters, receiving the ſervices of the Gentry, Clergy and principall Citizens; and finally in a like meeting of the States of the Iſland, as had before been held in *Jarſey*.

Nothing conſiderable elſe in the time of our ſtay, but that our Fleet came back on Wedneſday, *March* 25. which hapned very fitly to compleat the triumph of the Friday following, being the day of his Majeſties moſt happy inauguration; celebrated in the Caſtle, by the Divine Service for that day, and after by a noble Feaſt, made by him for the chief men of the Iſland; and ſolemnized without the Caſtle by 150 great ſhot, made

made from the Caſtle, the Fleet, the Town of St. *Peters Port*, and the ſeverall Iſlands, all following one another in ſo good an order, that never Bels were rung more cloſely, nor with leſſe confuſion.

Thus having given your Lordſhip a brief view of the courſe of our Voyage; I ſhall next preſent you with the ſight of ſuch obſervations, as I have made upon thoſe Iſlands at my times of leaſure; and that being done, hoiſe ſail for *England*.

Chap. I.

(1) *Of the convenient ſituation, and* (2) *condition of theſe Iſlands in the generall.* (3) Alderney, (4) *and* Serke. (5) *The notable ſtratagem whereby this latter was recovered from the* French. (6) *Of* Guernzey, (7) *and the ſmaller Iſles neer unto it.* (8) *Our Lady of* Lehu. (9) *The road, and* (10) *the Caſtle of* Cornet. (11) *The Trade, and* (12) *Priviledges of this people.* (13) *Of* Jarſey, *and* (14) *the ſtrengths about it.* (15) *The Iſland why ſo poor and populous.* (16) Gavelkind, *and the nature of it.* (17) *The Governours and other the Kings Officers. The* (18) *Politie, and* (19) *adminiſtration of Juſtice in both Iſlands.* (20) *The Aſſembly of the* Three Eſtates. (21) *Courts* Preſidiall *in* France *what they are.* (22) *The election of the Juſtices,* (23) *and the Oath taken at their admiſſion.* (24) *Of their* Advocates *or* Pleaders, *and the number of them.* (25) *The number of* Atturneys *once limited in* England. (26) *A Catalogue of the Governours and Bailiffs of the Iſle of* Jarſey.

TO begin then with the places themſelves, the Scene and Stage of our diſcourſe, they are the only remainders of our rights in *Normandy*; unto which Dukedome they did once belong. *Anno* 1108. at ſuch time as *Henry* I. of *England* had taken priſoner his Brother *Robert*, theſe Iſlands as a part of *Normandy*, were annext unto the *Engliſh*

English Crown, and have ever since with great testimony of faith and loyalty, continued in that subjection. The sentence or arrest of confiscation given by the Parliament of *France* against King *John*, nor the surprisall of *Normandy* by the *French* forces, could be no perswasion unto them to change their Masters. Nay when the *French* had twice seized on them, during the Reign of that unhappy Prince, and the state of *England* was embroyled at home, the people valiantly made good their own, and faithfully returned unto their first obedience. In aftertimes as any war grew hot between the *English* and the *French*, these Islands were principally aimed at by the enemy, and sometimes also were attempted by them, but with ill successe. And certainly, it could not be but an eye sore to the *French*, to have these *Isles* within their sight, and not within their power; to see them at the least in possession of their ancient enemy the *English*; a Nation strong in shipping, and likely by the opportunity of these places to annoy their trade. For if we look upon them in their situation, we shall find them seated purposely for the command and Empire of the Ocean. The Islands lying in the chief trade of all shipping from the Eastern parts unto the West, and in the middle way between St. *Malos* and the river *Seine*, the only trafick of the *Normans* and *Parisians*. At this St. *Malos*, as at a common *Empory* do the Merchants of *Spain* and *Paris* barter their Commodities; the *Parisians* making both their passage and return by these Isles; which if wel aided by a smal power from the Kings Navy, would quickly bring that entercourse to nothing. An opportunity neglected by our former Kings in their attempts upon that Nation, as not being then so powerfull on the Seas as now they are, but likely for the future to be husbanded to the best advantage, if the *French* hereafter stir against us. Sure I am, that my Lord of *Danby* conceived this course of all others to be the fittest, for the impoverishing if not undoing of the *French*; and accordingly made proposition by his Letters to the Councell, that a squadron of eight Ships (*viz* five of the *Whelpes*, the *Assurance*, the *Adventure* and the *Catch*) might be employed about these Islands for that purpose. An advice which had this Summer

took effect, had not the Peace between both Realms, been ſo ſuddenly concluded.

Of theſe, four only are inhabited, and thoſe reduced only unto two Governments; *Jarſey* an entire Province as it were within it ſelf; but that of *Guernzey* having the other two of *Alderney* and *Serke* dependant on it. Hence it is, that in our Hiſtories, and in our Acts of Parliament, we have mention only of *Jarſey* and of *Guernzey*, this laſt comprehending under it the two other. The people of them all live as it were in *libera cuſtodia*, in a kind of free ſubjection; not any way acquainted with Taxes, or with any levies either of men or money. In ſo much, that when the Parliaments of *England* contribute towards the occaſion of their Princes, there is alwayes a proviſo in the Act, "That this grant of Subſidies "or any thing therein contained, extend not to charge the "inhabitants of *Guernzey* and *Jarſey*, or any of them, of, for "or concerning any Mannors, Lands, and Tenements, or "other poſſeſſions, Goods, Chattels, or other moveable "ſubſtance, which they the ſaid Inhabitants, or any other "to their uſes, have within *Jarſey* and *Guernzey*, or in any "of them, *&c.* Theſe priviledges and immunities (together with divers others) ſeconded of late dayes with the more powerfull band of Religion, have been a principall occaſion of that conſtancy, wherewith they have perſiſted faithfully in their allegiance, and diſclaimed even the very name and thought of *France*. For howſoever the language which they ſpeak is *French*, and that in their originall, they either were of *Normandy* or *Britagne*; yet can they with no patience endure to be accounted *French*, but call themſelves by the names of *Engliſh-Normans*. So much doth liberty, or at the worſt a gentle yoak, prevail upon the mind and fancy of the people.

To proceed unto particulars, we will take them as they lie in order, beginning firſt with that of *Alderney*, an Iſland called by *Antonine*, *Arica*, but by the *French* and in our old Records known by the name of *Aurigny* and *Aurney*. It is ſituate in the 49 degree between 48 & 52 minutes of that degree, juſt over againſt the Cape or promontory of the *Lexobii*, called at this time by the Mariners the *Hague*. Diſtant from this

this Cape or Promontory three leagues only, but thirty at the leaſt from the neareſt part of *England*. The aire healthy, though ſometimes thickned with the vapours ariſing from the Sea. The ſoil indifferently rich both for husbandry and graſing. A Town it hath of well-near an hundred families, and not far off, an haven made in the manner of a ſemicircle, which they call *Crabbie*. The principall ſtrength of it, are the high rocks, with which it is on every ſide environed, but eſpecially upon the South; and on the Eaſt ſide an old Block-houſe, which time hath made almoſt unſerviceable. The chief houſe herein belongeth unto the *Chamberlains*, as alſo the dominion or Fee-farme of all the Iſland, it being granted by Queen *Elizabeth* unto *George* the ſon of Sir *Leonard Chamberlain*, then Governour of *Guernzey*, by whoſe valour it was recovered from the *French*, who in Queen *Maries* dayes had ſeized upon it. Neer unto the Fort or Block-houſe afore mentioned, a great quantity of this little Iſland is overlaid with ſand, driven thither by the fury of the Northweſt-winde. If we believe their Legends, it proceeded from the juſt judgement of God upon the owner of thoſe grounds, who once (but when I know not) had made booty and put unto the Sword ſome certain *Spaniards*, there ſhipwracked.

Four leagues from hence, and to the Southweſt and by weſt, lyeth another of the ſmaller Iſlands, called *Serke*; ſix miles in circuit at the leaſt, which yet is two miles leſſer in the whole compaſſe then that of *Alderney*. An Iſle not known at all by any name amongſt the Antients, and no marvail, for till the fifth of Queen *Elizabeth* or thereabouts, it was not peopled. But then, it pleaſed her Majeſty to grant it for ever in Fee farme to *Helier de Carteret*, vulgarly called *Seigneur de St. Oen*, a principall Gentleman of the Iſle of *Jarſey*, and Grandfather to Sir *Philip de Carteret* now living. By him it was divided into ſeverall eſtates, and leaſed out unto divers Tenants, collected from the neighbour Iſlands, ſo that at this day it may contain ſome forty houſholds; whereas before it contained only a poor hermitage, together with a little Chappell appertaining to it; the reſt of the ground ſerving as a Common unto thoſe

of

of *Guernzey* for the breeding of their Cattell. For ſtrength it is beholding moſt to nature, who hath walled it in a manner round with mighty rocks, there being but one way or aſcent unto it, and that with ſmall forces eaſie to be defended againſt the ſtrongeſt power in Chriſtendome. A paſſage lately fortified by the Farmers here, with a new platforme on the top of it, and thereupon ſome four pieces of Ordinance continually mounted. In this Iſland, as alſo in the other, there is a Bailiff and a Miniſter, but both of them ſubordinate in matter of appeal unto the Courts and *Colloquies* of *Guernzey*.

During the reign of the late Queen *Mary*, who for her husband *Philips* ſake, had engaged her ſelf in a war againſt the *French*; this Iſland then not peopled, was ſuddenly ſurprized by thoſe of that Nation, but by a Gentleman of the Netherlands, a ſubject of King *Philips* thus regained, as the ſtory much to this purpoſe is related by Sir *Wal. Raleigh*. The *Flemiſh* Gentleman with a ſmall Bark came to Anchor in the road, and pretending the death of his Merchant, beſought the *French* that they might bury him in the Chappell of that Iſland, offering a preſent to them of ſuch commodity as they had aboard. To this requeſt the *French* were eaſily entreated, but yet upon condition that they ſhould not come on ſhoar with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a knife. This leave obtained, the *Fleming* rowed unto the ſhoar with a Coffin in their Skiffe for that uſe purpoſely provided, and manned with Swords and Arcubuiſhes. Upon their landing, and a ſearch ſo ſtrict and narrow, that it was impoſſible to hide a pen-knife; they were permitted to draw their Coffin up the Rocks, ſome of the *French* rowing back unto the Ship to fetch the preſent, where they were ſoon made faſt enough and laid in hold. The *Flemings* in the mean time which were on land, had carryed their Coffin into the Chappell, and having taken thence their weapons, gave an alarme upon the *French*, who taken thus upon the ſuddain, and ſeeing no hopes of ſuccour from their fellowes, yeelded themſelves, and abandoned the poſſeſſion of that place. A ſtratagem to be compared, if not preferred, unto any of the Ancients; did not that fatall folly reprehended once by

Tacitus,

Tacitus, ſtill reign amongſt us, *Quod vetera extollimus recentium incurioſi*; that we extoll the former dayes, and are careleſſe of the preſent.

Two leagues from *Serke* directly Weſtward, lyeth the chief Iſland of this Government, by *Antonine* called *Sarnia*; by Us and the *French* known now by the name of *Garnzey*, or of *Guernzey*. Situate in the 49 degree of Latitude, between the 39 and 46 minutes of that degree, eight leagues or thereabouts from the coaſt of *Normandy*, and well-neer in an equall diſtance from *Alderney* and *Jarſey*. The forme of it, is much after the faſhion of the Iſle of *Sicily*, every ſide of the triangle being about nine miles in length, and 28 in the whole compaſſe. In this circuit are comprehended ten Pariſhes, whereof the principall is that of St. *Peters* on the Sea, as having a fair and ſafe peer adjoyning to it for the benefit of their Merchants, and being honoured alſo with a Market, and the *Plaidery* or Court of Juſtice. The number of the Inhabitants is reckoned neer about twenty thouſand, out of which there may be raiſed ſome two thouſand able men; although their trained Band conſiſts only of twelve hundred, and thoſe, God knows, but poorly weaponed. The aire hereof is very healthfull, as may be well ſeen in the long lives both of men and women; and the earth ſaid to be of the ſame nature with *Crete* and *Ireland*, not apt to foſter any venemous creature in it. Out of which generall affirmation, we may do well to except *Witches*, of whom the people here have ſtrange reports, and if an Ox or Horſe perhaps miſcarry, they preſently impute it to *Witchcraft*, and the next old woman ſhall ſtraight be hal'd to Priſon. The ground it ſelf, in the opinion of the Natives, more rich and battle then that of *Jarſey*; yet not ſo fruitfull in the harveſt, becauſe the people addict themſelves to merchandiſe eſpecially, leaving the care of husbandry unto their hindes. Yet Bread they have ſufficient for their uſe; enough of Cattell both for themſelves and for their ſhips; plenty of Fiſh continually brought in from the neighbour ſeas, and a Lake on the Northweſt part of it, neer unto the ſea, of about a mile or more in compaſſe, exceeding well ſtored with Carpes, the beſt that ever mortall eye beheld, for taſt and bigneſſe.

Some other Isles yet there be pertaining unto this Government of *Guernzey*, but not many nor much famous. Two of them lie along betwixt it and *Serke*, *viz.* *Arvie*, and *Jet-how*, whereof this last serveth only as a Parke unto the Governour, and hath in it a few fallow Deer, and good plenty of Conies. The other of them is well-neer three miles in circuit, a solitary dwelling once of Canons regular, and afterwards of some Fryers of the Order of St. *Francis*, but now only inhabited by Pheasants, of which amongst the shrubs and bushes, there is said to be no scarcity. The least of them, but yet of most note, is the little Islet called *Lehu*, situate on the North side of the Eastern corner, and neer unto those scattered rockes, which are called *Les Hanwaux*, appertaining once unto the Dean, but now unto the Governour. Famous for a little Oratory or Chantery there once erected and dedicated to the honour of the Virgin *Mary*, who by the people in those times, was much sued to by the name of our Lady of *Lehu*. A place long since demolished in the ruine of it, *Sed jam periere ruinæ*, but now the ruines of it are scarce visible, there being almost nothing left of it but the steeple, which serveth only as a seamarke, and to which as any of that party sail along, they strike their top sail. *Tantum religio potuit suadere*, such a Religious opinion have they harboured of the place, that though the Saint be gone, the wals yet shall still be honoured.

But indeed, the principall honour and glory of this Island, I mean of *Guernzey*, is the large capaciousnesse of the harbour, and the flourishing beauty of the Castle; I say the Castle, as it may so be called by way of eminency, that in the vale, and those poorer trifles all along the Coasts, not any way deserving to be spoken of. Situate it is upon a little Islet just opposite unto *Pierport* or the Town of St. *Peter*, on the Sea; to which, and to the peere there it is a good assurance, and takes up the whole circuit of that Islet whereupon it standeth. At the first it was built upon the higher part of the ground only, broad at the one end, and at the other, and bending in the fashion of an horne, whence it had the name of *Cornet*. By Sir *Leonard Chamberlane*

Governour

Governour here in the time of Queen *Mary*, and by Sir *Thomas Leighton* his ſucceſſour in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was improved to that majeſty and beauty that now it hath, excellently fortified according to the moderne art of war, and furniſhed with almoſt an hundred piece of Ordinance, whereof about ſixty are of Braſſe. Add to this, that it is continually environed with the Sea, unleſſe ſometimes at a dead-low water, whereby there is ſo little poſſibility of making any approaches neer unto it, that one might juſtly think him mad, that would attempt it. And certainly it is more then neceſſary that this place ſhould be thus fortified, if not for the ſafety of the Iſland, yet at the leaſt for the aſſurance of the Harbour. An harbour able to contain the greateſt Navy that ever ſailed upon the Ocean; fenced from the fury of the winds by the Iſles of *Guernzey*, *Jet-how*, *Serke* and *Arvie*, by which it is almoſt encompaſſed; and of ſo ſure an anchorage, that though our Ships lay there in the bluſtering end of *March*, yet it was noted that never any of them ſlipped an anchour. Other Havens they have about the Iſland, *viz. Bazon*, *L' Aucreſſe*, *Fermines* and *others*; but theſe rather landing places to let in the Enemy, then any way advantageous to the trade and riches of the people. A place not to be neglected in the defence of it; and full of danger to the *Engliſh* State and Trafick, were it in the hands of any enemy.

Upon the notable advantage of this harbour, and the conveniency of the Peer ſo neer unto it, which is alſo warranted with ſix peece of good Canon from the Town; it is no marvell if the people betake themſelves ſo much unto the trade of Merchandiſe. Nor do they trafick only in ſmall boats between St. *Malos* and the Iſlands, as thoſe of *Jarſey*; but are Maſters of good ſtout Barks, and venture unto all theſe neerer Ports of Chriſtendom. The principall commodity which they uſe to ſend abroad, are the works and labours of the poorer ſort, as Waſt-cotes, Stockins, and other manufactures made of wool, wherein they are exceeding cunning; of which wooll to be tranſported to their Iſland in a certain proportion, they lately have obtained a licence of our Princes. But there accreweth a further benefit unto

this people, from their harbour then their own trafick, which is the continuall concourſe and reſort of Merchants thither, eſpecially upon the noiſe or being of a War. For by an antient priviledge of the Kings of *England*, there is with them in a manner a continuall truce; and lawfull it is both for *French* men and for others, how hot ſoever the war be followed in other parts, to repair hither without danger, and here to trade in all ſecurity. A priviledge founded upon a Bull of Pope *Sixtus* IV. the 10 year, as I remember, of his Popedom; *Edward* IV. then reigning in *England*, and *Lewis* XI. over the *French*: by virtue of which Bull, all thoſe ſtand *ipſo facto* excommunicate, which any way moleſt the Inhabitants of this Iſle of *Guernzey*, or any which reſort unto their Iſland, either by Piracy or any other violence whatſoever. A Bull firſt publiſhed in the City of *Conſtance*, unto whoſe Dioceſſe theſe Iſlands once belonged, afterwards verifyed by the Parliament of *Paris*, and confirmed by our Kings of *England* till this day. The copy of this Bull my ſelf have ſeen, and ſomewhat alſo in the practiſe of it on record; by which it doth appear, that a man of war of *France* having taken an *Engliſh* ſhip, and therein ſome paſſengers and goods of *Guernzey*; made prize and priſoners of the *Engliſh*, but reſtored theſe of *Guernzey* to their liberty and to their own.

And now at laſt after a long paſſage, and through many difficulties, we are Anchored in the Iſle of *Jarſey*; known in the former ages, and to *Antonine* the Emperor, by the name of *Ceſarea*. An Iſland ſituate in the 49 degree of Latitude, between the 18 and 24 minutes of that degree; diſtant 5 leagues only from the Coaſt of *Normandy*, 40 or thereabouts from the neereſt parts of *England*, and 6 or 7 to the South-eaſt from that of *Guernzey*. The figure of it will hold proportion with that long kind of ſquare, which the *Geometricians* call *Oblongum*; the length of it from Weſt to Eaſt 11 miles, the breadth 6 and upwards, the whole circuit about 33. The aire very healthy and little diſpoſed unto diſeaſes, unleſſe it be unto a kinde of Ague in the end of Harveſt, which they call *Les Settembers*. The ſoil ſufficiently fertile in it ſelf, but moſt curiouſly manured, and of a plentifull

tifull increaſe unto the Barn; not only yeelding Corne enough for the people of the Iſland, but ſometimes alſo an ample ſurpluſage, which they barter at St. *Malos* with the *Spaniſh* Merchants. The Countrey generally ſwelling up in pretty hillocks, under which lie pleaſant Vallies, and thoſe plentifully watered with dainty Rils or Riverets; in which watery commodity, it hath queſtionleſſe the precedency of *Guernzey*.

Both Iſlands conſiſt very much of ſmall Incloſure, every man in each of them, having ſomewhat to live on of his own. Only the difference is, that here the mounds are made with ditches & banks of earth caſt up, well fenced and planted with ſeveral ſorts of apples, out of which they make a pleaſing kinde of Sider, which is their ordinary drink; whereas in *Guernzey* they are for the moſt part made of ſtones, about the height and faſhion of a *Parapet*. A matter of no ſmall advantage in both places againſt the fury of an enemy, who in his marches cannot but be much annoyed with theſe incombrances, and ſhall be forced to pay deerly for every foot of ground which there he purchaſeth.

For other ſtrengths this Iſland is in part beholding unto Nature, and ſomewhat alſo unto Art. To Nature which hath guarded it with Rocks, and Shelves, and other ſhallow places very dangerous; but neither theſe, nor thoſe of Art, ſo ſerviceable and full of ſafety, as they be in *Guernzey*. Beſides the landing places, here are more, and more acceſſible, as namely the Bay of St. *Owen*, and the Havens of St. *Burlade*, *Boule*, St. *Katharines*, with divers others. There is, indeed, one of them, and that the principall, ſufficiently aſſured; on the one ſide by a little *Blockhouſe*, which they call *Mount St. Aubin*; and on the other by a fair Caſtle, called the Fort *Elizabeth*. The Harbour it ſelf is of a good capacity, in figure like a ſemicircle or a creſcent, and by reaſon of the Town adjoyning, known by the name of the Haven of St. *Hilaries*. On that ſide of it next the Town, and in a little Iſlet of it ſelf is ſituate the Caſtle, environed with the Sea at high water, but at an ebb eaſily acceſſible by land; but yet ſo naturally defended with ſharpe Rocks and craggy cliſtes, that

though the acceſſe unto it may be eaſie, yet the ſurprizall would be difficult. It was built not long ſince by our late Queen of famous memory, at ſuch times as the Civill warres were hot in *France* about Religion, and the Kings Forces drawn downwards towards *Normandy*. Furniſhed with 30 pieces of Ordinance and upwards; and now, upon the preparations of the *French*, there are ſome new works begun about it, for the aſſurance of that well. On the Eaſt ſide, juſt oppoſite and in the view of the City of *Conſtantia*, there is ſeated on an high and craggy rock, a moſt ſtrong Caſtle, and called by an haughty name *Mount Orgueil*; of whoſe founder I could learn nothing, nor any other thing which might concern it in matter of antiquity, ſave that it was repaired and beautified by *Henry* V. It is for the moſt part the inhabitatiou of the Governour, who is Captain of it; ſtored with about ſome forty pieces of Ordinance, and guarded by ſome five and twenty wardours. A place of good ſervice for the ſafety of the Iſland; if perhaps it may not be commanded, or annoied by an hill adjoyning, which doth equall, if not overtop it.

This Iſland, as before we noted, is ſome 33 miles in compaſſe, comprehending in it 12 Pariſhes, whereof the principall is that of S. *Hilaries*. A Town ſo called from an antient Father of that name, and Biſhop of *Poyctiers* in *France*, whoſe body they ſuppoſe to be interred in a little Chappell neer unto the Fort *Elizabeth*, and conſecrated to his memory. But of his buriall here, they have nothing further then tradition, and that unjuſtifiable; for St. *Jerome* telleth us, that after his return from *Phrygia*, whereunto he had been confined, he dyed in his own City; and we learn in the *Roman Martyrologie*, that his *Obit* is there celebrated on the 13 of *January*. The chief name the which this Town now hath, is for the conveniency of the Haven, the Market there every Saturday, and that it is honoured with the *Coku* or *Seſſions houſe* for the whole Iſland. The other Villages lie ſcattered up and down, like thoſe of *Guernzey*, and give habitation to a people very painfull and laborious; but by reaſon of their continuall toyle and labour, not a little affected to a kinde of melancholy ſurlineſſe incident to plough men.

Thoſe

Thoſe of *Guernzey* on the other ſide, by continuall converſe with ſtrangers in their own haven, and by travailing abroad being much more ſociable and generous. Add to this, that the people here are more poor, and therefore more deſtitute of humanity; the children here continually craving almes of every ſtranger; whereas in all *Guernzey* I did not ſee one begger.

A principall reaſon of which poverty, I ſuppoſe to be their exceeding populouſneſſe, there being reckoned in ſo ſmall a quantity of ground, neer upon thirty thouſand living ſouls. A matter which gave us no ſmall cauſe of admiration; and when my Lord of *Danby* ſeemed to wonder, how ſuch a ſpan of earth could contain ſuch multitudes of people, I remember that Sir *John Payton* the Lieutenant Governour, made him this anſwer, *viz.* That the people married within themſelves like Conies in a burrow; and further, that for more then thirty years they never had been moleſted either with Sword, Peſtilence, or Famine.

A ſecond reaſon of their poverty (add alſo of their numbers) may be the little liking they have to Trafick; whereby as they might have advantage to improve themſelves, and employ their poor; ſo alſo might that ſervice caſually diminiſh their huge multitudes, by the loſſe of ſome men, and diverting others from the thought of marriage.

But the main cauſe, as I conceive it, is the tenure of their Lands, which are equally to be divided amongſt all the Sons of every Father, and thoſe parcels alſo to be ſubdivided even *ad infinitum*. Hence is it, that in all the Countries you ſhall hardly finde a field of Corne of larger compaſſe then an ordinary Garden; every one now having a little to himſelf, and that little made leſſe to his poſterity. This Tenure our Lawyers call by the name of *Gavel-kinde*; that is, as ſome of them expound it, *Give all-kinne*, becauſe it is amongſt them all to be divided. For thus the Law ſpeaking of the cuſtomes of *Kent*, in the 16 Chap. *De prærogativa Regis*. *Ibidem omnes hæredes maſculi participabant hæreditatem eorum, & ſimiliter fœminæ; ſed fœminæ non participabunt cum viris*. A tenure which on the

the one ſide hath many priviledges, and on the other ſide as many inconveniences.

For firſt, they which hold in this Tenure, are free from all cuſtomary ſervices, exempt from wardſhip, at full age when they come to 15 years, and if they pleaſe, they may alienate their eſtates either by gift or ſale, without the aſſent or knowledge of the Lord. But which is moſt of all, in caſe the Father be attaint of Felony or Murder, there is no *Eſcheat* of it to the Lord; the whole Eſtate, after the King hath had *Diem annum & vaſtum*, deſcending on the Heires. *Et poſt annum & diem terræ & tenementa reddentur, & revertentur proximo hæredi cui debuerant deſcendiſſe, ſi felonia facta non fuiſſet*; ſo the Lawyers.

On the other ſide, by this means their eſtates are infinitely diſtracted, their houſes impoveriſhed, the Kings profits in his Subſidies diminiſhed, and no little diſadvantage to the publick ſervice, in the finding of Armours for the Wars. Whereupon, as many Gentlemen of *Kent* have altered by eſpeciall Acts of Parliament, the antient Tenure of their Lands, and reduced it unto *Knights-ſervice*; ſo is it wiſhed by the better ſort of this people, and intended by ſome of them, that their Tenure may be alſo altered and brought into the ſame condition. A matter of no little profit and advantage to the King, and therefore without difficulty to be compaſſed.

By this Tenure are their eſtates all holden in every of the Iſlands, except 6 only which are held in Capite; whereof 4 in *Jarſey*, and 2 in *Guernzey*, and thoſe called by the names of *Signeuries*. The *Signeuries* in *Jarſey* are firſt, that of St *Oen*, anciently belonging to the *Carterets*; and that of *Roſſell*, bought lately of Mr. *Dominick Perin*, by Sir *Philip de Carteret* now living. 3. That of *Trinity*, deſcended upon Mr. *Joſhua de Carteret* in the right of his Mother, the heir generall of the *L' Emprieres*. And 4. That of St. *Marie*, vulgarly called *Lammarez*, deſcended from the *Paines* unto the Family of the *Du Mareſque* who now enjoy it. Thoſe of *Guernzey*, as before I ſaid, are two only; *viz.* that of *Anneville*, and that of *De Sammarez*; both which have paſſed by way of ſale through divers hands, and now at laſt

laſt are even worne out almoſt to nothing. The preſent owners, *Faſhion* and *Androes*, both of them *Engliſh* in their parentage.

The chief Magiſtrates in both theſe Iſles, for as much as concernes the defence and ſafety of them, are the Governours; whoſe office is not much unlike that of the Lord Lieutenants of our ſhires in *England*, according as it was eſtabliſhed by King *Alfred*, revived by *Henry* III. and ſo continueth at this day. Theſe Governours are appointed by the King, and by him in times of warre, rewarded with an annuall penſion payable out of the Exchequer; but ſince the encreaſe of the domaine by the ruine of Religious houſes, that charge hath been deducted; the whole Revenues being allotted to them in both Iſlands for the ſupport of their eſtate. In Civill matters they are directed by the *Bailiffs* and the *Jurates*; the *Bailiffs* and other the Kings Officers in *Guernzey*, being appointed by the Governour; thoſe of *Jarſey* holding their places by Patent from the King.

The names of which Officers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, behold here as in a Tablet, according as they are called in each Iſland.

GUERNZEY.

The Governour	the Earl of *Danby*.
The Lieutenant	*Nath. Darcell.*
The Bailiffe	*Aymes de Carteret.*
The Provoſt	
The Kings Advocate	*Pet. Beauvoir.*
The Comptroller	*De la Marſh.*
The Receiver	*Carey.*

JARSEY.

The Governour	Sir *John Peyton*, Sen.
The Lieutenant	Sir *John Peyton*, Jun.
The Bailiffe	Sir *Philip de Carteret.*
The Vicompt	*Hampton.*
Le Procureur	*Helier de Carteret.*
The Advocate	*Meſſerney.*
The Receiver	*Diſſon.*

By thoſe men, accompanied with the Juſtices or Jurates, is his Majeſty ſerved, and his Iſlands governed; the places in each Iſland being of the ſame nature, though ſomewhat different in name. Of theſe in matters meerly Civill, and appertaining unto publick juſtice, the Bailiffe is the principall; as being the chief Judge in all actions both criminall and reall. In matter of life and death, if they proceed to ſentence of condemnation, there is requiſite a concurrence of ſeven Jurates together with the Bailiffe; under which number ſo concurring, the Offender is acquited. Nor can the Countrey finde one guilty, not taken, as we call it, *in the matter*; except that 18 voices of 24 (for of that number is their *Grand Enqueſt*) agree together in the verdict. Perſonall actions, ſuch as are Debt and Treſpaſſe, may be determined by the *Bailiffe*, and two only are ſufficient; but if a triall come in right of Land and of Inheritance, there muſt be three at leaſt, and they decide it. For the diſpatch of theſe buſineſſes, they have their Termes, about the ſame time as we in *London*; their Writs of Arreſt, Appearance and the like, directed to the *Vicompt* or *Provoſt*; and for the tryall of their ſeverall cauſes, three ſeverall Courts or Juriſdictions, *viz.* the *Court Criminall*, the Court of *Chattel*, and the Court of *Heritage*. If any finde himſelf agrieved with their proceedings, his way is to appeal unto the *Councell-Table*. Much like this forme of Government, but

of

of later ſtampe, are thoſe Courts in *France*, which they call *Les Seiges Preſideaux*, inſtituted for the eaſe of the people by the former Kings, in divers Cities of the Realme, and ſince confirmed *anno* 1551 or thereabouts. Wherein there is a *Batliffe*, attended by twelve *Aſſiſtants* (for the moſt part) two *Lieutenants*, the one *criminall* and the other *civill*, and other officers; the office of the *Bailiffe* being to preſerve the people from wrong, to take notice of Treaſons, Robberies, Murders, unlawfull aſſemblies, *&c.* and the like.

In this order, and by theſe men, are all ſuch affaires tranſacted which concern only private and particular perſons; but if a buſineſſe ariſe which toucheth at the publick, there is ſummoned by the Governour a *Parliament*, or *Convention* of the three *Eſtates*. For however *Ariſtotle* deny in the firſt of his *Politicks*, τὸ μὲν διαφέρειν μεγάλην οἰκίαν, ἢ μικρὰν πόλιν, that a great houſhold nothing differs from a little City, yet certainly we may affirme that in the art of Government, a little Empire doth nothing differ from a greater; whereupon it is, that even theſe little Iſlands, in imitation of the greater Kingdomes have alſo their *Conventus ordinum*, or aſſembly of the *States*; *viz.* of the *Governour* as chief, the *Bailiffe* and *Jurates* repreſenting the nobility, the *Miniſters* for the Church, and the ſeverall *Conſtables* of each Pariſh for the Commons. In this aſſembly generall, as alſo in all private meetings, the *Governour* takes precedence of the *Bailiffe*, but in the Civill Courts and pleas of law, the *Bailiffe* hath it of the *Governour*.

In this Aſſembly they rectifie ſuch abuſes as are grown among them, appoint Deputies to ſolicite their affairs at Court, reſolve on publick contributions, *&c.* and among other things, determine the election of the *Juſtices*. For on the vacancy of any of thoſe places, there is notice given unto the people in their ſeverall Pariſhes on the next Sunday, after the morning exerciſe; and there the people, or the major part of them, agree upon a man. This nomination at the day appointed for the Aſſembly of the *States* is returned by the *Conſtables* of each Village, out of whom ſo

named, the whole body chuſeth him whom they think moſt ſerviceable for that Magiſtracy. This done, the new *Jurate* either then immediately, or at the next ſitting of the Juſtices, ſhall be admitted to his place and office; having firſt taken an Oath for the upright demeanour of himſelfe, in the diſcharge of his duty, and the truſt repoſed in him. The tenour of which Oath, is as followeth.

"YOU Mr. *N. N.* ſince it hath pleaſed God to call "you lawfully to this charge, ſhall ſwear and "promiſe by the faith and troth which you owe to "God, well and truely to diſcharge the Office of a *Ju-* "*rate* or *Juſticiar*, in the Court Royall of our Sove- "raigne Lord the King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and "*Ireland*, &c. in this Iſle of *Jarſey*; whoſe Majeſty, next "under God, you acknowledge to be ſupreme Gover- "nour in all his Realmes, Provinces, and Dominions, "renouncing all ſtrange and forain powers. You ſhall "defend the rights both of his Majeſty and Subjects. "You ſhall upholdthe honour and glory of God, and "of his pure and holy word. You ſhall adminiſter true "and equall Juſtice, as well to the poor as to the rich, "without reſpect of perſons; according to our Lawes, "Uſages and Cuſtomes, confirmed unto us by our pri- "viledges, maintaining them together with our Liber- "ties and Franchiſes, and oppoſing your ſelfe againſt "ſuch as labour to infringe them. You ſhall alſo pu- "niſh and chaſtiſe all Traitours, Murderers, Felons, "Blaſphemers of Gods holy name, Drunkards and o- "ther ſcandalous livers, every one according to his de- "ſert; oppoſing your ſelf againſt all ſeditious perſons "in the defence of the Kings Authority, and of his "Juſtice. You ſhall be frequently aſſiſtant in the Court, "and as often as you ſhall be deſired, having no law- "full excuſe to the contrary, in which caſe you ſhall "give your *proxie* to ſome other Juſtice, giving your ad-

"viſe,

"vise, counsell, and opinion according to the sincerity of your conscience. You shall give reverence and due respect unto the Court. And shall defend, or cause to be defended, the rights of Widowes, Orphans, Strangers, and all other persons unable to help themselves. Finally, in your verdict (or the giving your opinion) you shall regulate and conforme your self to the better and more wholesome counsell of the *Bailiffe* and *Justices*.

"*All which you promise to make good upon your conscience.*

A way more compendious then ours in *England*, where the *Justices* are fain to take three Oaths, and those founded upon three severall Statutes, as *viz.* that concerning the discharge of their office, which seemeth to be founded on the 13. of *Richard* II. Cap. 7. That of the *Kings Supremacy*, grounded on the first of Queen *Elazabeth* Cap. 1. And lastly, that of *Allegiance*, in force by virtue of the Statute 3 *Jac.* Cap. 4. Of these *Justices* there are twelve in all in each Island; of whose names and titles in the next Chapter.

The other members of the *Bailiffes* Court, are the *Advocates* or *Pleaders*, whereof there be six onely in each Island; this people conceiving rightly, that multitudes of *Lawyers* occasion multitudes of businesse; or according to that merry saying of old *Haywood*, *The more Spaniels in the field, the more game.* Of these advocate, two of them which are (as we call them here in *England*) the Kings *Attorney* or *Sollicitour*, are called *Advocati stipulantes*, the others *Advocati postulantes*. Yet have they not by any order confined themselves to this number, but may enlarge them according to occasion, though it had not been a *Solecisme* or a novelty, were the number limited. For it appeareth in the Parliament Records, that *Edward* the first restrained the number both of *Counsellers* and *Atturneys*

unto 140 for all *England*, though he alſo left authority in the *Lord Chief Juſtice* to enlarge it, as appeareth in the ſaid Records, *Anno* 20. *Rotul.* 5. *in dorſo de apprenticiis & attornatis*, in theſe words following. *D. Rex injunxit Joh. de Metingham* (he was made chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in the 18 of this King) *& ſociis ſuis quod ipſi per eorum diſcretionem provideant & ordinent certum numerum in quolibet Comitatu, de melioribus & legalioribus, & libentius addiſcentibus, ſec. quod intellexerint quod curiæ ſuæ & populo de regno melius valere poterit*, &c. *Et videtur regi & ejus concilio quod ſepties viginti ſufficere poterint. Apponant tamen præfati juſticiarii plures, ſi viderint eſſe faciendum, vel numerum anticipent*, &c. Thus he wiſely and happily foreſeeing thoſe many inconveniences which ariſe upon the multitudes of ſuch as apply themſelves unto the Lawes, and carefully providing for the remedy.

But of this, as alſo of theſe Iſlands, and of their manner of Govenment, I have now ſaid ſufficient; yet no more then what may fairly bring your Lordſhip on to the main of my diſcourſe and Argument, *viz.* the Eſtate and condition of their Churches.

I ſhall here only adde a Catalogue of the *Governours* and *Bailiffs* of the Iſle of *Jarſey* (for of thoſe of *Guernzey*, notwithſtanding all my paines and diligence I could finde no ſuch certain conſtat) which is this that followeth.

A Catalogue of the *Governours* and *Bailiffs* of *Jarsey.*

	Bailiffs.	Governours.
1301	*Pierre Vigoure.*	*Edw.* II. *Otho de Graudison Sr. des Isles.*
1389	*Geofr. la Hague.*	*Edw.* III. *Edm. de Cheynie Gard des Isles.*
1345	*Guill. Hastings.*	*Thom. de Ferrer. Capt. des Isles.*
1352	*Rog. Powderham.*	
1363	*Raoul L. Empriere.*	
1367	*Rich de St Martyn.*	
1368	*Iean de St. Martyn.*	
	Rich le Petit.	
1370	*Jean de St. Martyn.*	
	Jean Cokerill.	
1382	*Tho. Brasdefer.*	*Hen.* IV. *Edw. D.* of *York.*
1396	*Geofr. Brasdefer.*	V. *Jean D.* of *Bedford.* 1414.
1405	*Guill. de Laick.*	
1408	*Tho. Daniel.*	VI. *Hum. D.* of *Gloceſter.* 1439.
1414	*Jean Poingt dexter.*	
1433	*Jean Bernard* Kt.	
1436	*Jean l' Empriere.*	
1444	*Jean Payne.*	
1446	*Regin. de Carteret.*	
1453	*Jean Poingt dexter.*	*Edw* IV. Sir *Rich. Harliston.*
1462	*Nicol. Mourin.*	
1485	*Guill. de Harvy Angl.*	*Hen.* VII. *Mathew Baker* Esq;
1488	*Clem. le Hardy.*	*Tho. Overcy* Esq;
1494	*Jean Nicols.*	*David Philips* Esq;
1496	*Jean l' Empriere.*	
1515	*Hel. de Carteret.*	*Hen.* VIII. Sir *Hugh Vaughan.*
1524	*Helier de la Rocq.*	Sir *Antony Utterell.*
		1526. *Rich.*

	Bailiffs.	Governours.
1526	*Rich Mabon.*	
1528	*Jaſper Penn. Angl.*	
1562	*Hoſtes Nicolle.*	*Edw.* VI. *Edw. D.* of *Somerſ.* L *Protect.*
	Jean du Mareſque	*Corniſh.*
	Geo. Pawlet, Angl.	*Ma. R.* Sir *Hugh Pawlet.*
1516	*Jean Herault* Kt.	*Eliza. R.* Sir *Aimer Paulet.*
1622	*Guill. Parkhurſt.*	Sir *Antho. Pawlett.*
16	*Philip de Carteret* Kt.	Sir *Walt. Raleigh.*
now living *ann.* 1644.		*Jac.* Sir *Joh. Peiton. S. a Croſs ingrailed O.*
		Car. Sir *Tho. Jermin,* now living.

Further then this I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with the Eſtate of theſe Iſlands in reference either unto Naturall or Civill Concernments. This being enough to ſerve for a foundation to that ſuperſtructure, which I am now to raiſe upon it.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

(1) *The City and Dioceſe of* Conſtance. (2) *The condition of theſe Iſlands under that Government.* (3) *Churches appropriated what they were.* (4) *The* Black Book *of* Conſtance. (5) *That called* Domes day. (6) *The ſuppreſſion of* Priours Aliens. (7) Priours Dative, *how they differed from the* Conventualls. (8) *The condition of theſe Churches after the ſuppreſſion.* (9) *A* Diagram *of the Revenue then allotted to each ſeverall Pariſh, together with the* Miniſters *and* Juſtices *now being.* (10) *What is meant by* Champarte deſarts *and* French querrui. (11) *The alteration of Religion in theſe Iſlands.* (12) *Perſecution here in the days of Queen* Mary. *The Authors indignation at it, expreſſed in a Poeticall rapture.* (13) *The Iſlands annexed for ever to the Dioceſe of* Winton, *and for what reaſons.*

BUt before we enter on that Argument, The eſtate and condition of their Churches, a little muſt be ſaid of their Mother-City, to whom they once did owe Canonicall obedience. A City, in the opinion of ſome, once called *Auguſta Romanduorum*, and after took the name of *Conſtance* from *Conſtantine the great*, who repaired and beautified it. Others make it to be built in the place of an old ſtanding campe, and that this is it which is called *Conſtantia caſtra* in *Ammian. Marcellinus*, *Meanteſq; protinus prope caſtra Conſtantia funduntur in Mare*, *lib* 15. To leave this controverſie to the *French*, certain it is, that it hath been (1) The City, and

and yet is a City of good repute; the County of *Constantine* (one of the seven *Bailiwicks* of *Normandy* being beholding to it for a name.)

Dioceſſe of *Conſtance.*

As for the Town it ſelf, it is at this day accounted for a *Vicnte*, but more famous for the Biſhoprick; the firſt Biſhop of it, as the *Roman Martyrologie* (and on the 23, if my memory fail not, of *September*) doth inſtruct us, being one *Paternus*. *Du Cheſne* in his book of *French Antiquities*, attributes this honour to St. *Ereptiolus*; the man, as he conjectures, that firſt converted it into the faith: his next ſucceſſors being St. *Exuperance*, St. *Leonard*, and St *Lo*; which laſt is ſaid to have lived in the year 473. By this account it is a City of good age; yet not ſo old but that it ſtill continues beautifull. The Cathedrall here one of the faireſt and well built pieces in all *Normandy*, and yeelding a fair proſpect even as far as to theſe Iſlands. The Church, it may be, raiſed to that magnificent height, that ſo the Biſhop might with greater eaſe ſurvey his Dioceſe. A Dioceſe containing antiently a good part of Countrey *Conſtantine*, and theſe Iſlands where now we are.

(2) The condition of theſe Iſlands under that Government.

For the better executing of his Epiſcopall juriſdiction in theſe places divided by the Sea from the main body of his charge, he had a *Surrogat* or *Subſtitute*, whom they called a *Dean*, in each Iſland one. His office conſiſting, as I gueſſe at it by the juriſdiction, of that of a *Chancellour* and an *Archdeacon*, mixt; it being in his faculty to give inſtitution and induction, to give ſentence in caſes appertaining to Eccleſiaſticall cogniſance, to approve of Wils, and withall to hold his viſitations. The revenue fit to entertain a man of that condition; *viz.* the beſt benefice in each Iſland, the profits ariſeing from the Court, and a proportion of tithes allotted out of many of the Pariſhes. He of the Iſle of *Guernzey* over and above this, the little Iſlet of *Lehu*, of which in the laſt Chapter; and when the houſes of *Religion*, as they called them, were ſuppreſſed, an allowance of an hundred quarters of Wheat, *Guernzey* meaſure, paid him by the Kings receiver for his Tithes. I ſay *Guernzey* meaſure, becauſe it is a meaſure different from ours; their quarter being no more then five of our buſhels or thereabouts. The

Miniſtery

Miniſtery at that time not anſwerable in number to the Pariſhes, and thoſe few very wealthy; the *Religious houſes* having all the Prediall tithes appropriated unto them; and they ſerving many of the Cures, by ſome one of their own body licenced for that purpoſe.

Now thoſe Churches, or Tithes rather, were called *Appropriated* (to digreſſe a little by the way) by which the Patrons *Papali authoritate intercedente*, &c. the Popes authority intervening, and the conſent of the King and *Dioceſan* firſt obtained, were for ever annexed, and as it were incorporated into ſuch *Colledges*, *Monaſteries*, and other foundations as were but ſparingly endowed. At this day being irremediably and ever aliened from the Church; we call them by as fit a name, *Impropriations*. (3) Churches appropriated what they were.

For the rating of theſe Benefices, in the payment of their firſt fruits and tenths or *Annats*, there was a note or taxe in the Biſhops Regiſter, which they called the *Black book* of *Conſtance*; like as we in *England*, the *Black book* of the *Exchequer*. A Taxe which continued conſtantly upon Record till their disjoyning from that Dioceſe, as the rule of their payments and the Biſhops dues. And as your Lordſhip well knowes, not much unlike that courſe there is alwayes a Proviſo in the grant of *Subſidies* by the *Engliſh Clergie*; "That the rate, taxation, valuation, and eſti- "mation now remaining on Record in his Majeſties "Court of Exchequer, for the payment of a perpetuall "*Diſme* or Tenth granted unto King *Henry* the VIII. of "worthy memory, in the 26 year of his Reign, concer- "ning ſuch promotions as now be in the hands of the "Clergie, ſhall onely be followed and obſerved. A courſe learnt by our great Prelates in the taxing of their Clergie, from the example of *Auguſtus*, ἐν τῇ ἀπογραφῇ τῆς οἰκουμένης, in his taxing of the World. For it is reported of him by *Co. Tacitus*, that he had written a book with his owne hand, *in quo opes publicæ continebantur*, wherein he had a particular eſtimate of all the Provinces in that large Empire; what Tributes and Impoſts they brought in, what Armies they maintained, &c. and what (4) The black book of *Conſtance*.

went alſo in Largeſſe and Penſions out of the publick finances.

(5) That of Dooms-day.

This Providence alſo exactly imitated by our *Norman* Conquerour, who had taken ſuch a ſpeciall ſurvey of his new purchaſe, that there was not one hide of Land in all the Realme, but he knew the yearly Rent and owner of it; how many plow-lands, what Paſtures, Fennes and Mariſhes; what Woods, Parkes, Farmes and Tenements were in every ſhire, and what every one was worth.

This *Cenſuall Roll*, the *Engliſh* generally call *Doomes-day book*, and that as ſome ſuppoſe, becauſe the judgement and ſentence of it was as impoſſible to be declined as that in the day of *doome*. *Sic cum orta fuerit contentio de his rebus quæ illic continentur cum ventum fuerit ad librum, ejus ſententia infatuari non poteſt, vel impune declinari*; ſo mine Authour. Others conceive it to be corruptly called the *Book of Doomes-day*, for the *Book* of *Domus dei*, or the *Domus-dei book*, as being by the Conquerour laid up in the *Maiſon dieu* or Gods-houſe in *Wincheſter*. A book carefully preſerved, and that under three Keyes in his Majeſtes Exchequer, not to be looked into under the price of a Noble; nor any line of it to be tranſcribed without the payment of a groat. *Tanta eſt authoritas vetuſtatis*; So great reſpect do we yeeld unto antiquity.

(6) The ſuppreſſion of Priors Aliens.

But to return again to my Churches whom I left in bondage under their ſeverall Priories, and other the *Religious houſes*. I will firſt free them from that yoak which the ſuperſtition of their *Patrons* had put upon them. So it was, that thoſe *Houſes of Religion* in theſe Iſlands, were not abſolute foundations of themſelves; but dependent on, and as it were the appurtenances of, ſome greater Abby or Monaſtery in *France*. In this condition they continued till the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the V. who purpoſing a war againſt the *French*, thought fit to cut of all helpes and ſuccours as they had from *England*, at that time full of *Priors Aliens*, and ſtrangers poſſeſſed of

Bene-

Benefices. To this end it was enacted, *viz.* "Whereas "there were divers *French men* beneficed and preferred to "Priories and Abbies within this Realm, whereby the trea- "sures of the Realm were transported, and the counsels of "the King, and the secrets of the Realm disclosed unto the "Kings enemies to the geeat damage of the King and of the "Realm; that therefore all *Priors Aliens*, and other *French men* "beneficed, should avoid the Realm, except only *Priors Con-* "*ventuals*, such as have institution and induction: and this also "with a Proviso, that they be *Catholick*, and give sufficient "surety that they shall not disclose the counsels of the King "or of the Realm; so the Statute 1 *Hen.* 5. *cap.* 7. This also noted to us by *Pol. Virgil ad Reip. commodum sancitum est ut post hæc ejusmodi externis hominibus nullus Anglicani sacerdotii possessio traderetur.* Upon which point of statute the *Britons* belonging to the Queen *Dowager*, the widow once of *John de Montfort* Duke of *Bretagne*, were also expelled the Land by Act of Parliament, 3 *Hen.* 5. *cap* 3. By this means the *Priors Aliens* being banished, their possessions fell into the Kings hands, as in *England* so also in these Islands; and their houses being all suppressed they became an accession to the patrimony *Royall*, the *demaine*, as our Lawyers call it, of the Crown.

These *Priors Aliens* thus exiled, were properly called *Priors Dative*, and removeable; but never such Aliens never so removeable, as they were now made by this Statute. What the condition of these *Priors* was, and wherein they differed from those which are called above by the name of *Priors Conventuals*; I cannot better tell then in the words of an other of our Statutes, that namely of the 27 of *Hen.* 8. *cap.* "The Parliament had given unto the King, all Abbies, "Priories and Religious houses whatsoever, not being above "the value 200 *l.* in the old rent. Provided alwayes "(saith the letter of the Law) that this Act, *&c.* shall not "extend nor be prejudiciall to any Abbots or Priors of "any Monastery or Priory, *&c.* for or concerning such "Cels of Religious houses appertaining or belonging to "their Monasteries or Priories; in which Cels the Priors "or other chief Governours thereof, be under the obedi- "ence of the Abbots or Priors to whom such Cels be-

(7) *Priors dative*, how they differed from *Conventuals.*

"long. As the *Monke* or *Canons* of the Covent of their Mo-
"nasteries or Priories, and cannot be sued by the Lawes
"of this Realm, or by their own proper names for the
"possessions or other things appertaining to such Cels,
"whereof they be Priors and Governors; but must sue and
"be sued in and by the names of the Abbots and Priors to
"whom they be now obedient, and to whom such Cels be-
"long, and be also Priors or Governours *dative* or *re-*
" *moveable* from time to time, and accomptez of the profits of
"such Cels, at the only will and pleasure of such of the
" Abbots and Priors, to whom such Cels belong, *&c.* This once the difference between them, but now the *criticisme* may be thought unnecessary.

(8) The condition of these Churches after that suppression.

To proceed, upon this suppression of the Priors and others the Religious houses in these Islands, and their Revenue falling unto the Crown; there grew a composition between the Curates and the Governours about their tithes, which hath continued hitherto unaltered, except in the addition of the Deserts, of which more hereafter. Which composition in the proportion of tithe unto which it doth amount, I here present unto your Lordship in a brief *Diagramme*, together with the the names of their Ministers and Justices now beng.

JARSEY.

JARSEY.

(9) The Diagram.

Parishes.	Ministers.	Revenues.	Justices.
St. *Martins*	Mr. *Bandinell* sen. the Dean.	The 3 of the kings tithe.	*Josuah de Carteret Seign. de Trinite.*
St. *Hilaries*	Mr. *Oliver* the Sub-dean or Commissary.	The 10 of the kings tithe.	*Dan du Maresque seign de Sammarez.*
St. *Saviours.*	Mr. *Effart.*	The Deserts and 22 acres of Gleb.	*Ph. L' Empriere Sr. de Delament.*
St. *Clements.*	Mr. *Paris.*	The 8 and 9 of the kings tithe.	*Ph. de Carteret Sr. de Vinchiles de haut.*
St. *Grovilles.*	Mr. *de la Place.*	The 8 and 9, *&c.*	*Eli. du Maresque Sr. de Vinchiles abas.*
St. *Trinities.*	Mr. *Mollet.*	The Deserts and the 10 of the kings tithe.	*Eli. de Carteret Sr. de la Hagne.*
St. *Johns.*	Mr. *Brevin.*	The Deserts, *&c.*	*Joh. L' Empriere Sr. des au grace.*
S. *Lawrences.*	Mr. *Prinde.*	The Deserts, *&c.*	*Aron Messervie.*
St. *Maries.*	Mr. *Blandivell*, jun.	The 3 sheaf of the Kings tithe.	*Ben. la cloche Sr. de Longueville.*
St. *Owens.*	Mr. *La cloche.*	The Deserts, *&c.*	*Jo. Harde.*
St. *Burlads.*		The 8 and 9, *&c.*	*Abr. Herod.*
St. *Peters.*	Mr. *Grueby.*	The Deserts, *&c.*	*Ph. Marret.*

Note that the taking of the 8 and 9 sheafe is called *French querrui*; as also that an acre of their measure is 40 Perches long and one in breadth, every Perche being 21 foot.

GUERNZEY.

GUERNZEY.

	Parishes.	Ministers.	Revenues.	Justices.
*St. Pierre-porte.	* St. *Peters* on the Sea.	M. *de la March*	The 7 of tithe and champarte.	*Tho. Andrewes Sr. de Sammarez.*
	St. *Martins.*	Mr. *de la Place*	The like.	*Pet. Carey* sen.
	La Foreſt.	Mr. *Picote.*	The 9 of tithe and champarte.	*John Fautrat Sr. de Coq.*
	Tortevall	Mr. *Fautrat.*	The 3 of tithe and champarte.	*Joh. Bonamy.*
	S. *Andrews*		The 4 of, *&c.*	*Joh. Ketville.*
† St. *Pierre du boys.*	† St. *Peters* in the Wood.	Mr. *Perchard.*	The 3 of the tithe only.	*James Guile Sr. des Rohais.*
	St. *Saviours*		The Deſert and the tenths in all 600 ſheafes.	*Tho. Blundell.*
	Chaſtell.	Mr. *Paniſee.*	The 9 of the tithe only.	*Pet. de Beauvoyre Sr. des Granges.* St. *Mich.*
	St. *Michael* in the vale	Mr. *Millet.*	The 4 of the Kings tithe only.	*Pet. Goſſelin.*
	St. *Sampſon*		The like.	*Joſias Merchant.*
	Serke.	Mr. *Brevin.*	20 *l.* ſtipend and 20 quarters of corn.	*Pet. Carey* jun.
	Alderney.	Mr. *Maſon.*	20 *l.* ſtipend.	

Note that the Pariſh called in this *Diagram*, *La Foreſt*, is dedicated as ſome ſay, to the *holy Trinity*; as other to St. *Margaret*, that which is here called *Tortevall*, as ſome ſuppoſe unto St. *Philip*, others will have it to St. *Martha*; but that of *Chaſtell* to the hand of the bleſſed Virgin, which is therefore called in the Records, our *Ladies Caſtle*. Note alſo, that the Juſtices or Jurates are here placed, as near as I could learn, according to their Seniority, not

not as particularly appertaining to thoſe Pariſhes againſt which they are diſpoſed.

For the better underſtanding of this *Diagram*, there are three words which need a commentary, as being meerly Aliens to the *Engliſh* tongue, and hardly *Denizens* in *French*. Of theſe, that in the *Diagrams* called the *Deſerts*, is the firſt. A word which properly ſignifieth a Wilderneſſe, or any waſt ground from which ariſeth little profit. As it is taken at this preſent and on this occaſion, it ſignifieth a field which formerly was laid to waſte, and is now made arable. The caſe this: At the ſuppreſſion of the *Priors Aliens* and the compoſition made betwixt the Curates and the Governours, there was in either Iſland much ground of ſmall advantage to the Church or to the owner, which they called *Les Deſerts*. But the Countreys after growing populous, and many mouths requiring much proviſion, theſe Deſerts were broke up and turned into tillage. Hereupon the Curates made challenge to the tithes, as not at all either intended or contained in the former compoſition. The Governours on the other ſide alleadging cuſtome, that thoſe grounds had never paid the Tithe, and therefore ſhould not. Nor could the *Clergy* there obtain their rights untill the happy entrance of King *James* upon theſe Kingdoms. A Prince of all others a moſt indulgent father to the Church. By him and by a letter Decretory from the Counſell, it was adjudged in favour of the Miniſtery; the Letter bearing date at *Greenwich June* the laſt, *anno* 1608. ſubſcribed *T. Elleſmere Canc. R. Salisbury, H. Northampton, E. Worceſter, T. Suffolke, Exeter Zouch, Wotton, Ceſar, Herbert.* A matter certainly of much importance in the conſequence, as making known unto your Lordſhip how eaſie a thing it is in the authority royall to free the Church from that tyranny of *cuſtome* and *preſcription* under which it groneth.

(10) What is meant by Deſerts,

The next of theſe three words to be explained, is in the note *French Querrui*, which in the note is told us to be the 8 and 9 ſheaf; by which account or way of tithing, the Miniſter in 50 ſheafs receiveth 6, which is one ſheaf more then the ordinary tithe. The word corrupted, as I

French Querrui, and by

conceive, from the *French* word *Charrue*, which ſignifieth a Plough, and then *French querrui* is as much as Plough-right, alluding to the cuſtome of ſome Lords in *France*, who uſed to give their husbandmen or villains, as a guerdon for their toyle, the 8 and 9 of their increaſe.

Champart. As for the laſt, that, *viz.* which the *Diagram* calleth *Champart*, it intimates in the origination of the word, a part or portion of the field, that which the Lord in chief reſerved unto himſelf.

In *Guernzey* it is conſtantly the 12 ſheaf of the whole crop, the Farmer in the counting of his ſheafes caſting aſide the 10 for the King, and the 12 which is the Champart, for the Lord.

Now here in *Guernzey* (for thoſe of the other Iſle have no ſuch cuſtome) there is a double *Champart*, that namely *Du Roy*, belonging to the King, whereof the Clergy have the tithe, and that of St. *Michael en leval*, not titheable. The reaſon is, becauſe at the ſuppreſſion of the Priorie of St. *Michael*, which was the only *Religious houſe* in theſe Iſlands, which ſubſiſted of it ſelf; the Tenants made no tendry of this *Champart*, and ſo it lay amongſt *concealments*. At the laſt, Sir *Thomas Leighton* the Governour here recovered it unto the Crown by courſe of Law, and at his own charges; whereupon the Queen licenced him to make ſale of it, to his beſt advantage, which accordingly he did.

(11) The alteration of Religion in theſe Iſlands. For the Religion in theſe Iſlands, it hath been generally ſuch as that profeſſed with us in *England*, and as much varied. When the *Priors Aliens* were baniſhed *England* by King *Henry* V. they alſo were exiled from hence. Upon the demolition of our Abbeys; the Priory of St. *Michael*, and that little Oratory of our *Lady of Lehu*, became a ruine. The *Maſſe* was here alſo trodden down whileſt King *Edward* ſtood, and raiſed again at the exaltation of Queen *Mary*. Nay even that fiery tryall, which ſo many of Gods ſervants underwent in the ſhort Reign of that miſguided Lady, extended

tended even unto theſe poor Iſlanders; and that, as I conceive, in a more fearfull tragedy, then any, all that time preſented on the Stage of *England*. The ſtory in the brief is this;

Katharine Gowches a poor widow of St. *Peters-parte* in *Guernzey*, was noted to be much abſent from the Church, and her two daughters guilty of the ſame neglect. Upon this they were preſented before *Jaques Amy* then Dean of the Iſland, who finding in them, that they held opinions contrary unto thoſe then allowed, about the Sacrament of the Altar, pronounced them *Hereticks* and condemned them to the fire. The poor women on the other ſide pleaded for themſelves, that that Doctrine had been taught them in the time of King *Edward*; but if the Queen was otherwiſe diſpoſed, they were content to be of her Religion. This was fair, but this would not ſerve; for by the Dean they were delivered unto *Elier Goſſelin* the then Bailiffe, and by him unto the fire, *July* 18. *Anno Dom.* 1556. One of theſe daughters, *Perotine Maſſey* ſhe was called, was at that time great with childe; her husband, which was a Miniſter, being, in thoſe dangerous times, fled the Iſland; in the middle of the flames and anguiſh of her torments, her belly brake in ſunder, and her child, a goodly boy, fell down into the fire, but was preſently ſnatched up by one *W. Houſe* one of the by-ſtanders. Upon the noiſe of this ſtrange accident, the cruell Bailiffe returned command, that the poor Infant muſt be caſt again into the flames; which was accordingly performed; and ſo that pretty babe was borne a Martyr, and added to the number of the *Holy Innocents*. A cruelty not paralleld in any ſtory, not heard of amongſt the Nations. But ſuch was the pleaſure of the Magiſtate, as one in the Maſſacre of the younger *Maximinus*, viz. *Canis peſſimi ne catulum eſſe relinquendum*; that not any iſſue ſhould be left alive of an Heretick Parent.

(12) Perſecution here in the dayes of Q. *Mary*.

The horrror of which fact ſtirred in me ſome Poeticall Fancies (or Furies rather) which having long lien dormant, did break out at laſt, indignation thus ſupplying thoſe ſuppreſſed conceptions.

Si natura negat, dabit indignatio verſum.

Holla ye pampred Sires of Rome, *forbear*
To act ſuch murders, as a Chriſtian ear
Hears with more horrour, then the Jews *relate*
The dire effects of Herods *fear and hate,*
When that vilde Butcher, cauſ'd to cut in ſunder
Every Male childe of two years old and under.

Theſe Martyrs in their cradles, from the womb
This paſſ'd directly to the fiery tomb;
Baptiz'd in Flames and Bloud, a Martyr born,
A ſetting ſun in the firſt dawn of morn:
Yet ſhining with more heat, and brighter glory
Then all Burnt-offerings *in the Churches ſtory.*

Holla ye pampred Rabines of the Weſt,
Where learnt you thus to furniſh out a Feaſt
With Lambs *of the firſt minute? What diſguiſe*
Finde you to mask this horrid Sacrifice?
When the old Law ſo meekly did forbid,
In the Dams milk to boil the tender Kid.

What Riddles have we here? an unborn birth,
Hurried to Heaven, when not made ripe for Earth;
Condemned to die before it liv'd, a twin
To its own mother; not impeached of ſin,

Yet doom'd to death, that breath'd but to expire,
That ſcap'd the flames to periſh in the fire.

Rejoyce ye Tyrants of old times, your name
Is made leſſe odious on the breath of fame,
By our moſt monſtrous cruelties; the Males
Slaughtered in Egypt, *waigh not down theſe ſcales.*
A Fact to equall this no former age
Hath given in Books, or fancie on the Stage.

This fit of indignation being thus paſſed over, I can proceed with greater patience to the reſt of the ſtory of this Iſland, which in briefe is this:

That after the death of Queen *Mary*, Religion was again reſtored in the reformation of it to theſe Iſlands. In which ſtate it hath ever ſince continued in the main and ſubſtance of it; but not without ſome alteration in the circumſtance and forme of Government. For whereas notwithſtanding the alteration of Religion in theſe Iſlands they ſtill continued under the Dioceſe of *Conſtance*, during the whole Empire of King *Henry* the VIII. and *Edward* the VI. yet it ſeemed good to Queen *Elizabeth* upon ſome reaſons of State, to annex them unto that of *Winton*. (13) The Iſlands annexed for ever unto the Dioceſe of *Winton*, and for what Reaſons.

The firſt motive of it was, becauſe that Biſhop refuſed to abjure the pretended power which the Pope challengeth in Kingdomes, as other of the *Engliſh* Prelates did; but this diſpleaſure held not long. For preſently upon a conſideration of much ſervice and intelligence which might reaſonably be expected from that Prelate, as having ſuch a neceſſary dependence on this Crown, they were again permitted to his juriſdiction.

At the laſt, and if I well remember, about the 12 year of that excellent Ladies Reign, at the perſwaſion of Sir *Amias Paulet*, and Sir *Tho. Leighton* then Governours, they were for ever united unto *Wincheſter*. The pretences that

ſo there might a fairer way be opened to the *reformation* of Religion; to which that Biſhop was an enemy, and that the ſecrets of the State might not be carryed over into *France*, by reaſon of that entercourſe which needs muſt be between a Biſhop and his Miniſters. The truth is, they were both reſolved to ſettle the *Geneva* diſcipline in every Pariſh in each Iſland; for which cauſe they had ſent for *Snape* and *Cartwright*, thoſe great incendiaries of the *Engliſh* Church to lay the ground-work of that building. Add to this that there was ſome glimmering alſo of a Confiſcation in the ruine of the Deanries; with the ſpoyles whereof they held it fit to enrich their Governments. Matters not poſſible to be effected, had he of *Conſtance* continued in his place and power. But of this more in the next Chapter.

CHAP. III.

(1) *The condition of* Geneva *under their Biſhop.* (2) *The alteration there both in Politie, and* (3) *in Religion.* (4) *The ſtate of that Church before the coming of* Calvin *thither.* (5) *The conception,* (6) *birth, and* (7) *growth of the* New Diſcipline. (8) *The quality of* Lay-elders. (9) *The different proceedings of* Calvin, (10) *and* Beza *in the propagation of that cauſe.* (11) *Both of them enemies to the Church of* England. (12) *The firſt entrance of this platforme into the Iſlands.* (13) *A permiſſion of it by the Queen and the Councell in* St. Peters *and* St. Hilaries. (14) *The letters of the Councell to that purpoſe.* (15) *The tumults raiſed in* England *by the brethren.* (16) Snape *and* Cartwright *eſtabliſh the new Diſcipline in the reſt of the Iſlands.*

THus having ſhewed unto your Lordſhip the affairs and condition of theſe Churches till the Reformation of Religion; I come next in the courſe of my deſigne, unto that Innovation made amongſt them in the point of Diſcipline. For the more happy diſpatch of which buſineſſe, I muſt crave leave to aſcend a little higher into the ſtory of change, then the introduction of it into thoſe little Iſlands. So doing, I ſhall give your Lordſhip better ſatisfaction, then if I ſhould immediately deſcend upon that Argument; the rather becauſe I ſhall deliver nothing in this diſcourſe not warranted to be by the chief

(1) The condition of *Geneva* under their Biſhop.

chief contrivers of the Discipline. To begin then with the first originall and commencement of it; so it is that it took the first beginning at a City of the *Allobroges* or *Savoyards*, called *Geneva*, and by that name mentioned in the first of *Cesars* Commentaries. A Town situate at the end of *Lacus Lemannus*, and divided by *Rhodanus* or *Rhosne* into two parts. Belonging formerly in the Soveraignty of it to the Duke of *Savoy*; but in the profits and possession to their Bishop and homager of that Dukedome. To this Bishop then there appertained not only an Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, as Governour of the Church under the Archbishop of *Vienna*, in *Daulphinoys* his Metropolitane; but a jurisdiction also temporall, as Lord and Master of the Town under the protection of the Duke of *Savoy*. This granted by the testimony of *Calvin* in his Epistle unto Cardinall *Sadolet*, dated the last of *August* 1539. *Habebat sane* (saith he) *jus gladii, & alias civilis jurisdictionis partes*; but as he conceived, I know not on what grounds, *Magistratui ereptas*, fraudulently taken from the Civill Magistrate.

(2) The alteration there both in Religion, and

In this condition it continued till the year 1528. when those of *Berne*, after a publick disputation held, had made an alteration in Religion. At that time *Viret* and *Farellus*, men studious of the Reformation had gotten footing in *Geneva*, and diligently there sollicited the cause and entertainment of it. But this proposall not plausibly accepted by the Bishop, they dealt with those of the lower rank, amongst whom they had gotten most credit, and taking opportunity by the actions and example of those of *Berne*, they compelled the Bishop and his Clergy to abandon the Town, and after proceeded to the reforming of his Church. This also avowed by *Calvin* in his Epistle to the said Cardinall, *viz.* That the Church had been reformed and setled before his coming into those quarters by *Viret* and *Farellus*, and that he only had approved of their proceedings, *Sed quia quæ a* Vireto *&* Farello *facta essent, suffragio meo comprobavi*, &c. as he there hath it.

(3) in Polity.

Nor did they only in that tumult alter the Doctrine and orders of the Church, but changed also the Government of the Town, disclaiming all alleagiance either to their Bishop or their

their Duke, and ſtanding on their own liberty as a free City. And for this alſo they are indebted to the active counſels of *Farellus*. For thus *Calvin* in his Epiſtle to the Miniſters of *Zurich*, dated the 26 of *November* 1553. *Cum hic nuper eſſet frater noſter* Farellus, *cui ſe totos debent*, &c. and anone after, *Sed deploranda eſt ſenatus noſtri cæcitas, quod libertatis ſuæ patrem*, &c. ſpeaking of their ingratitude to this *Farellus*.

(4) The eſtate of that Church before the coming of *Calvin* thither.

The power and dominion of that City thus put into the hands of the common people, and all things left at liberty and randome, it could not be expected that there ſhould any diſcipline [be] obſerved, or good order in the Church. The Common-councell of the Town diſpoſed of it as they pleaſed; and if any crime which antiently belonged to Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction, did hap to be committed, it was puniſhed by order from that Councell. No cenſures Eccleſiaſticall, no ſentence of Excommunication thought on at that time, either here at *Geneva*, or in any other of the popular Churches. *Si quidem excommunicationi in aliis Eccleſiis nullus locus*, as *Beza* hath it in the life of *Calvin*. And the ſame *Calvin* in his Epiſtle to the Miniſters of *Zurich* affirmes no leſſe in theſe words, *viz. Nec me latet pios & doctos eſſe homines, quibus ſub principibus Chriſtianis non videtur eſſe neceſſaria Excommunicatio*; ſo he.

(5) The conception.

Thus was it with the Church and City of *Geneva* at the firſt coming of *Calvin* to them; a man of excellent abilities, and one that had attained a good repute in many places of the *French* dominions. Not finding that aſſurance in the Realm of *France*, he reſolved to place himſelfe at *Baſil* or at *Strasburg*. But taking *Geneva* in his way, upon the importunity of *Farellus*, he condeſcended to make that place the ſcene of his endeavours, and his aſſent once known, he was admitted ſtraight to be one of their ordinary preachers and their Divinity reader. *Menſ. Aug. anno* 1536. This done he preſently negotiates with the people, publickly to abjure the Papacy: nor ſo only, but (as *Beza* hath it in his life) *Quod doctrinam & diſciplinam capitibus aliquot comprehenſam admitterent*; that they alſo ſhould give way to ſuch a diſcipline, which he and his aſſociates had agreed on. A

matter at the laſt effected, but not without much difficulty, and on the 20 of *July*, *anno* 1537. the whole City bound themſelves by oath accordingly; which diſcipline of what quality it was I cannot learn: ſure I am, it had no affinity with that in uſe amongſt the antients. For thus himſelf in his Epiſtle above mentioned unto *Sadolet*, *Diſciplinam qualem vetus habuit Eccleſia apud nos non eſſe* [*dicis*]; *neq; nos diffitemur.*

The Diſcipline hitherto was only in conception, before it came unto maturity, and ready for the birth, the people weary of this new yoak began to murmur, and he reſolutely bent not to vary from his firſt purpoſe, was in that diſcontentment baniſhed the Town, together with *Farellus* and *Coraldus* his colleagues, *anno* 1538. Three years, or thereabouts he continued in this exile, being bountifully entertained at *Strasburg*; from whence with unreſiſtible importunity he was again recalled by that unconſtant multitude. A deſire to which by no means he would hearken, unleſſe both they and all their Miniſters would take a ſolemn oath to admit a compleat forme of diſcipline, not arbitrary, not changeable; but to remain in force for ever after. Upon aſſurance of their conformity herein, he returns unto them like an other *Tully* unto *Rome*; and certainly we may ſay of him as the Hiſtorian of the other, *Nec quiſquam aut expulſus eſt invidioſius, aut receptus lætius.* On the 13 of *September*, 1541. he is admitted into the Town; and now (there being ſtrength enough to deliver) the Diſcipline ſuch as he had contrived it, was eſtabliſhed on the 20 of *November* following.

(6) The Birth and

(7) Growth of the new Diſcipline.

This new Diſcipline thus borne into the world, was yet cruſh'd almoſt in the growth of it, by the faction of *Perinus* at that time Captain of the people, and of great power among the many. Twelve years together, but yet with many lucid intervals, did it ſtruggle with that oppoſition, and at the laſt was in a manner ruined and oppreſſed by it. For whereas the Conſiſtory had given ſentence againſt one *Berteliet*, even in the higheſt cenſure of *Excommunication*, the Common-councell not only abſolved him from that cenſure, but fooliſhly decreed, That *Excommunication*

munication and *Abſolution* did properly belong to them. Upon this he is again reſolved to quit the Town; but at laſt the Controverſie is by joynt conſent referred unto the judgement of four Cities of the *Switzers*. Then did he labour in particular to conſider of it, not as a matter of ordinary conſequence, but (as in his ſaid Epiſtle to thoſe in *Zurich*) *De toto Eccleſiæ hujus ſtatu*, &c. ſuch as on which the whole being of that Church depended. In the end he ſo contrived it, that the anſwer was returned to *Geneva*, *Nil contra tentandum*; that they ſhould not ſeek to alter what was ſo well eſtabliſhed; and hereupon they were all contented to obey. By which means this Infant-diſcipline, with ſuch variety of troubles born and nurſed, attained unto a fair and manly growth, and in ſhort ſpace ſo well improved, that it durſt bid defiance unto Kings and Princes.

(8) The quality of Lay-Elders.

The chief means by which this new Platforme was admitted in *Geneva*, and afterwards deſired in other places, was principally that parity and equality, which it ſeemed to carry, the people being as it were a double part in it, and ſo advanced into the higheſt Magiſtracy. For ſo the cunning Architect had contrived it, that for every pillar of the Church, there ſhould be alſo two Pillaſters, or rather underproppers of the people. *Non ſolos verbi Miniſtros ſedere judices in conſiſtorio; ſed numerum duplo majorem, partim ex minori ſenatu, partim ex majori delige*; ſo he in his Remonſtrance unto them of *Zurich*, affixed to his Epiſtle. Theſe men they honour with the name of *Elders*, and to them the charge is ſpecially committed of inquiring into the lives of thoſe within their diviſion, *viz. Sitne domus pacata & recte compoſita*, &c. as the Epiſtle to *Gaſp. Olevianus* doth inſtruct us. By which device there is not only a kind of ſatisfaction given to the multitude, but a great deal of envie is declined by the Miniſtery; which that curious and unneighbourly inquiſition would otherwiſe derive upon them. And certainly, were there in theſe *Elders*, as they call them, a power only of information, the device might be ſo much the more allowable. But that ſuch ſimple

wretches ſhould caper from the ſhop-board upon the Bench, and there be intereſſed in the weighteſt cauſes of the Church. *Cenſure* and *Ordination* is a monſter never known among the *Antients*. Eſpecially conſidering, that the minde of theſe poor *Laicks*, is all the while intent upon their penny; and when the Court is riſen they haſten to their ſhops as *Quinctius* the *Dictator* did in *Florus* to his plough, *Ut ad opus relictum feſtinaſſe videantur.*

(9) The different proceeding of *Calvin.*

The buſineſſe thus happily ſucceeding at *Geneva*, and his name continually growing into higher credit; his next endevour was to plant that government in all places which with ſuch trouble had been fitted unto one. Certainly we do as much affect the iſſue of our braines as of our bodies, and labour with no leſſe vehemency to advance them. And ſo it was with him in this particular, his after-writings tending mainly to this end, that his new Platforme might have found an univerſall entertainment. But this modeſtly enough, and chiefly by way of commendation. Two examples only ſhall be ſufficient, b cauſe I will not be too great a trouble to your Lordſhip in the collection of a tedious Catalogue. *Gaſper Olevianus* a Miniſter of the Church of *Tryers*, by his Letters bearing date the 12 of *April*, *anno* 1560. giveth notice unto *Calvin* of the State of their affaires; and withall that he found the people willing to condeſcend unto a Diſcipline. *Calvin* in his anſwer preſents him with a ſummary of that platforme, raiſed lately at *Geneva*, and then cloſeth with him thus, *Compendium hoc ſatis putavi fore ex quo formam aliquam conciperes, quam præſcribere non debui. Tu quod putabis utile iſtic fore*, &c. In this he doth ſufficiently expreſſe his deſire to have his project entertained; in that which followeth he doth ſignifie his joy that the world had made it welcome. An epiſtle written to a certain *Quidam* of *Polonia*, dated the year 1561. Wherein he doth congratulate the admiſſion of the Goſpell (as he cals it) in that Kingdom. And then, *Hæc etiam non pœnitenda gaudii acceſſio, cum audio diſciplinam cum* Evangelii *profeſſione conjunctam*, &c. thus he.

But

But *Beza* his successour goeth more plainly to the busnesse, and will not commend this project to the Churches, but impose it on them. This it was, that made him with such violence cry down the *Hierarchie* of the Church, the plague of Bishops, as he cals it. *Hanc pestem caveant qui Ecclesiam salvam cupiunt*, &c. *Et ne illam quæso unquam admittas* (he speaketh it unto *Cnoxe*) *quantumvis unitatis retinendæ specie*, &c. *blandiatur.* This was it which made him reckon it as a note essentiall of the Church * without which it was not possible to subsist; a point so necessary, *Ut ab ea recedere non magis quam ab religionis ipsius placitis, liceat.* *Epist.* 83. that it was as dangerous to depart from this, as from the weightiest mysteries of Religion. This in a word was it which made him countenance those turbulent spirits, who had so dangerously embroyled our Churches, and prepared it unto ruine; but of them and their proceedings more anone.

(10) *Beza* in the propagation of that cause

* V. cap. 5. n.

And certainly it was a matter of no small grief and discontent unto them both, that when so many Churches had applauded their invention, the Church of *England* only should be found untractable. Hereupon it was that *Calvin* tels the *English* Church in *Franckford* (in his Epistle to them *anno* 1555) how he had noted in their publick Liturgy, *Multas tolerabiles ineptias*, many tolerable vanities; *facis Papisticæ reliquias*, the relicks of the filth of Popery; and that there was not in it *ea puritas quæ optanda foret*, such piety as was expected. Hereupon it was that *Beza* being demanded by the brethren, what he conceived of some chief matters then in question; returned a *Non probamus* to them all. The particulars are too many to be now recited, and easie to be seen in the 12 of his Epistles, the Epistle dated from *Geneva*, *anno* 1567. and superscribed, *Ad quosdam Anglicarum ecclesiarum fratres super nonnullis in Ecclesiastica politia controversis.*

(11) Both of these enemies to the Church of *England*.

Yet at the last they got some footing, though not in *England*, in these Islands which are members of it, and as it were the Suburbs of that City. The means by which it

(12) The first entrance of this Platforme into the Islands.

it entred, the reſort hither of ſuch *French Miniſters* as came hither for ſupport in the times of perſecution and the Civill wars, *anno* 1561. and 62. Before their coming that forme of prayer was here in uſe which was allowed with us in *England*. But being as all others are, deſirous of change, and being alſo well encouraged by the Governors, who by this means hoped to have the ſpoyle of the poor *Deanries*; both Iſlands joyned together in alliance or confederacy to petition the Queens Majeſty for an approbation of this Diſcipline, *anno* 1563.

(13) A permiſſion of it by the Queen, *&c.*

The next year following, the Seignieur *de St. Oen*, and *Nich. de Soulmont* were delegated to the Court, to ſolicite this affaire; and there they found ſuch favour, that their deſire received a gracious anſwer, and full of hope they returned unto their homes. In the mean time the Queen being ſtrongly perſwaded that this deſign would much advance the Reformation in thoſe Iſlands, was contented to give way unto it in the Towns of St. *Peters-port*, and of St. *Hilaries*, but no further. To which purpoſe there were Letters Decretory from the Councell directed to the *Bailiff*, the *Jurates*, and others of each Iſland; the tenor whereof was as followeth.

(14) The Letters of the Councell to that purpoſe.

"AFter our very hearty commendations unto you. "Where the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty under- "ſtandeth that the Iſles of *Guernzey* and *Jarſey* have anti- "enly depended on the Dioceſe of *Conſtance*, and that there "be certain Churches in the ſame Dioceſe well reformed, "agreeably throughout in Doctrine as is ſet forth in this "Realm; knowing therewith that they have a Miniſter "which ever ſince his arrivall in *Jarſey*, hath uſed the like "order of Preaching and adminiſtration, as in the ſaid "Reformed Churches, or as it is uſed in the *French* Church "at *London*; her Majeſty for divers reſpects and conſide- "rations moving her Highneſſe is well pleaſed to admit "the ſame order of Preaching and Adminiſtration to be "continued at St. *Heliers*, as hath been hitherto accuſtomed

"by

"by the ſaid Miniſter. Provided always that the reſidue "of the Pariſhes in the ſaid Iſle, ſhall diligently put apart "all ſuperſtitions uſed in the ſaid Dioceſe; and ſo con- "tinue there the order of Service ordained and ſet forth "within this Realm, with the injunctions neceſſary for that "purpoſe; wherein you may not fail diligently to give "your aides and aſſiſtance, as beſt may ſerve for the ad- "vancement of Gods glory. And ſo fare you well. From "*Richmond* the 7 day of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1565. Subſcri- "bed,

N. Bacon. *Will. Northamp.* *R. Leceſter.*
Gul. Clynton. *R. Rogers.* *Fr. Knols.*
William Cecil.

Where note, that the ſame Letter, the names only of the places being changed, and ſubſcribed by the ſame men, was ſent alſo unto thoſe of *Guernzey* for the permiſſion of the ſaid Diſcipline in the haven of St. *Peters*. And thus fortified by authority they held their firſt Synod according to the conſtitutions of that platforme on the 22. of *September*, and at St. *Peters-porte* in *Guernzey*, *anno* 1567.

By this means, by this improvident aſſent (if I may ſo call it) to this new diſcipline in theſe Iſlands; her Majeſty did infinitely prejudice her own affaires, and opened that gap unto the Brethren, by which they had almoſt made entrance unto meer confuſion in this ſtate and Kingdome. For whereas during the Empire of Queen *Mary*, *Goodman*, *Whittingham*, *Gilbie* and divers others of our Nation, had betook themſelves unto *Geneva*, and there been taught the *Conſiſtorian practiſes*; they yet retained themſelves within the bounds of peace and duty. But no ſooner had the Queen made known by this aſſent that ſhe might poſſibly be drawn to like the Platforme of *Geneva*; but preſently the Brethren ſet themſelves on work to impoſe thoſe new inventions on our Churches. By *Genebrard* we learn in his *Chronologie*, *ortos Puritanos anno* 1566. and that their firſt Belweather

(15) The tumults raiſed in *England* by the Brethren.

Belweather was called *Samſon*; a puiſſant Champion doubleſſe in the cauſe of *Iſrael*. By our own Antiquary in his Annals it is referred *ad Annum* 68. and their Leaders were *Collman*, *Euttan*, *Bellingham* and *Benſon*. By both it doth appear that the brethren ſtirred not here, till the approbation of their Diſcipline in thoſe Iſlands, or till the execution of it, in their firſt Synod. No ſooner had they this incouragement, but they preſently muſtered up their forces, betook themſelves unto the quarrell, and the whole Realme was on the ſuddain in an uproar. The Parliaaments continually troubled with their *Supplications*, *Admonitions* and the like; and when they found not there that favour which they looked for, they denounce this dreadfull curſe againſt them, *That there ſhall not be a man of their ſeed that ſhall proſper to be a Parliament man, or bear rule in* England *any more.* The Queen exclaimed upon in many of their Pamphlets, her honourable Counſell ſcandalouſly cenſured as oppoſers of the Goſpell. The Prelates every were cryed down as *Antichriſtian*, *Petty-popes*, *Biſhops of the Devill, cogging and couſening knaves, dumb dogs, enemies of God*, &c. and their Courts and Chanceries the *Synagogues of Satan*. After this they erected privately their *Presbyteries* in divers places of the Land, and cantoned the whole Kingdome into their ſeverall *Claſſes* and diviſions; and in a time when the *Spaniards* were expected, they threaten to petition the Queens Majeſty with 100000 hands. In concluſion what dangerous counſels were concluded on by *Hacket* and his *Apoſtles*, with the aſſent and approbation of the Brethren, is extant in the Chronicles. A ſtrange and peeviſh generation of men, that having publick enemies unto the faith abroad, would rather turn the edge of their Swords upon their Mother and her children. But ſuch it ſeemeth was the holy pleaſure of *Geneva*; and ſuch their ſtomach not to brook a private oppoſition.

Cumq; ſuperba foret Babylon *ſpolianda trophæis,*
Bella geri placuit, nullos habitura triumphos.

Yet

Yet was it queſtionleſſe ſome comfort to their ſouls, that their devices, however it ſucceeded ill in *England*, had ſpred it ſelf abroad in *Guernzey* and in *Jarſey*, where it had now poſſeſſion of the whole Iſlands. For not content with that allowance her Majeſty had given unto it, in the Towns of St. *Peters* and St. *Hillaries*; the Governours having firſt got theſe Iſles to be diſſevered from the Dioceſe of *Conſtance*, permit it unto all the other Pariſhes. The better to eſtabliſh it, the great ſupporters of the cauſe in *England*, *Snape* and *Cartwright* are ſent for to the Iſlands; the one of them being made the tributary Paſtor of the Caſtle of *Cornet*, the other of that of *Mont-orguel*. Thus qualified forſooth they conveene the Churches of each Iſland, and in a Synod held in *Guernzey*, *anno* 1576. the whole body of the Diſcipline is drawn into a forme. Which forme of Diſcipline I here preſent unto your Lordſhip, faithfully tranſlated according to an authentick copy, given unto me by Mr. *Painſee* Curate of our Ladies Church of *Chaſtell* in the Iſle of *Guernzey*.

Chap. IV.

The Diſcipline Eccleſiaſticall, *according as it hath been in practiſe of the Church after the* Reformation *of the ſame, by the* Miniſters, Elders, *and* Deacons *of the Iſles of* Guernzey, Jarſey, Serke, *and* Alderney; *confirmed by the authority and in the preſence of the Governours of the ſame Iſles in a Synod holden in* Guernzey *the* 28 *of* June 1576. *And afterwards revived by the ſaid* Miniſters *and* Elders, *and confirmed by the ſaid Governors in a Synod holden alſo in* Guernzey *the* 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, *and* 17 *dayes of* October 1597.

CHAP. I.

Of the Church in Generall.

Article I.

1. THe Church is the whole company of the faithfull, comprehending as well thoſe that bear publick office in the ſame, as the reſt of the people.

II.

2. No one Church ſhall pretend any ſuperiority or dominion over another; all of them being equall in power, and having one only head CHRIST JESUS.

3. The

III.

3. The Governours of the *Chriſtian* Church where the Magiſtrates profeſſe the Goſpell, are the Magiſtrates which profeſſe it, as bearing chief ſtroke in the Civill Government; and the Paſtors and Overſeers [or *Superintendents*] as principall in the Government Eccleſiaſticall.

IV.

4. Both theſe juriſdictions are eſtabliſhed by the law of God, as neceſſary to the Government and welfare of his Church; the one having principally the care and charge of mens bodies and of their goods; to govern them according to the Laws, and with the temporall Sword; the other having cure of ſouls and conſciences, to diſcharge their duties according to the Canons of the Church, and with the ſword of Gods word. Which juriſdiction ought ſo to be united, that there be no confuſion, and ſo to be divided, that there be no contrariety; but joyntly to ſuſtain and defend each other, as the armes of the ſame body.

CHAP. II.

Of the Magiſtrate.

THe *Magiſtrate* ought ſo to watch over mens perſons and their goods, as above all things to provide that the honour and true worſhip of God may be preſerved. And as it is his duty to puniſh ſuch as offend in Murder, Theft, and other ſins againſt the ſecond Table; ſo ought he alſo to correct Blaſphemers, Atheiſts and Idolaters, which offend againſt the firſt; as alſo all thoſe which contrary to good order and the common peace, addict themſelves to riot and unlawfull games; and on the other ſide he ought to cheriſh thoſe which are well affected, and to advance them both to wealth and honours.

CHAP. III.

Of Eccleſiaſticall functions in generall.

Article I.

1. OF Officers Eccleſiaſticall, ſome have the charge to teach or inſtruct, which are the *Paſtors* and *Doctors*; others are as it were the eye to overſee the life and manners of Chriſts flock, which are the *Elders*; and to others there is committed the diſpoſing of the treaſures of the Church, and of the poor mans Box, which are the *Deacons*.

II.

2. The *Church officers* ſhall be elected by the *Miniſters* and *Elders*, without depriving the people of their right; and by the ſame authority ſhall be diſcharged, ſuſpended and depoſed, according as it is ſet down in the Chapter of Cenſures.

III.

3. None ought to take upon him any function in the Church without being lawfully called unto it.

IV.

4. No *Church officer* ſhall or ought to pretend any ſuperiority or dominion over his companions, *viz.* neither a Miniſter over a Miniſter, nor an Elder over an Elder, nor a Deacon over a Deacon; yet ſo, that they give reverence and reſpect unto each other, either according to their age, or according to thoſe gifts and graces which God hath vouchſafed to one more then another.

V.

5. No man ſhall be admitted to any office in the Church, unleſſe he be endowed with gifts fit for the diſcharge of that office unto which he is called; nor unleſſe there be good teſtimony of his life and converſation; of which

which diligent enquiry ſhall be made before his being called.

VI.

6. All theſe which ſhall enter upon any publick charge in the Church, ſhall firſt ſubſcribe to the confeſſion of the faith uſed in the reformed Churches, and to the Diſcipline Eccleſiaſticall.

VII.

7. All thoſe which are deſigned for the adminiſtration of any publick office in the Church, ſhall be firſt nominated by the *Governours*, or their Lieutenants; after whoſe approbation they ſhall be propoſed unto the people, and if they meet not any oppoſition, they ſhall be admitted to their charge within fifteen dayes after.

VIII.

8. Before the nomination and admiſſion of ſuch as are called unto employment in the Church, they ſhall be firſt admoniſhed of their duty; as well that which concerneth them in particular, as to be exemplary unto the people, the better to induce them to live juſtly and religiouſly before God and man.

IX.

9. Although it appertain to all in generall to provide that due honour and obedience be done unto the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, to the *Governours*, to their *Lieutenants*, and to all the *officers* of Juſtice; yet notwithſtanding they which bear office in the Church, ought chiefly to beſtir themſelves in that behalf, as an example unto others.

X.

10. Thoſe that bear office in the Church, ſhall not forſake their charge without the privity and knowledge of the *Conſiſtory*, and that they ſhall not be diſmiſſed, but by the ſame order by which they were admitted.

XI.

11. Thoſe that bear office in the Church, ſhall employ themſelves in viſiting the ſick, and ſuch as are in priſon, to adminiſter a word of comfort to them, as alſo to all ſuch as have need of conſolation.

XII.

12. They ſhall not publiſh that which hath been treated in the *Conſiſtory, Colloquies*, or *Synods*, either unto the parties whom it may concern, or to any others, unleſſe they be commanded ſo to do.

XIII.

13. They which beare office in the Church, if they abſtain from the *Lords Supper*, and refuſe to be reconciled, having been admoniſhed of it, and perſiſting in their error, ſhall be depoſed, and the cauſes of their depoſition manifeſted to the people.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Miniſters.

Article I.

1. THoſe which aſpire unto the *Miniſtery*, ſhall not be admitted to propoſe the word of God, unleſſe they be indued with learning, and have attained unto the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, if it be poſſible.

II.

2. The *Miniſters* ſhall cenſure the *proponents*, having firſt diligently examined them in the principal points of learning requiſite unto a *Miniſter*. And having heard them handle the holy Scriptures, as much as they think neceſſary, if they be thought fit for the Miniſtery, they ſhall be ſent unto the Churches then being void, to propoſe the Word of God three or four times, and that bare-headed. And if the Churches

Churches approve them, and deſire them for their Paſtors, the *Colloquie* ſhall depute a *Miniſter*, to give them inſtitution by *the impoſition of hands*.

III.

3. The *Miniſters* ſent hither or reſorting for refuge to theſe Iſles, and bringing with them a good teſtimony from the places whence they came, ſhall be employed in thoſe Churches which have moſt need of them, giving and receiving the *hand of aſſociation*.

IV.

4. They which are elected and admitted into the *Miniſtery*, ſhall continue in it all their lives, unleſſe they be depoſed for ſome fault by them committed. And as for thoſe which ſhall be hindred from the encreaſing of their Miniſtery, either by ſickneſſe or by age, the honour and reſpect due unto it, notwithſtanding ſhall be theirs.

V.

5. The *Miniſters* which flie hither as for refuge, and are employed in any Pariſh during the perſecution, ſhall not depart from hence untill ſix moneths after leave demanded; to the end, the Church be not unprovided of a *Paſtor*.

VI.

6. The *Miniſters* ſhall viſite every houſhold of their flockes, once in the year at the leaſt; but this at their diſcretion.

VII.

7. The *Miniſters* ſhall propoſe the Word of God, every one in his rank, and that once every moneth; in ſuch a place and on ſuch a day as ſhall be judged moſt convenient.

VIII.

8. If there be any which is offended at the Preaching of any *Miniſter*, he ſhall repair unto the ſaid *Miniſter* within four and twenty houres for ſatisfaction. And if he cannot

not receive it from the *Ministers*, he shall addresse himselfe within eight dayes to the *Consistory*; in default whereof his information shall not be admitted. If any difference arise, the *Ministers* shall determine of it at their next conference.

CHAP. V.

Of Doctors and of School-masters.

Article I.

1. THe office of a *Doctor* in the Church is next unto the *Pastors*. His charge is to expound the Scripture in his Lectures, without applying it by way of Exhortation. They are to be elected by the *Colloquie*.

II.

2. The *School-masters* shall be first nominated by them, to whom the right of nomination doth belong, and shall be afterwards examined by the *Ministers*; who taking examination of their learning, shall also informe themselves of their behaviour; as *viz.* whether they be modest, and not debauched; to the end, that may be an example to their Scholars, and that they by their ill Doctrine, they bring not any Sect into the Church. After which examination if they are found fit for the institution of youth, they shall be presented to the people.

III.

3. They shall instruct their Scholars in the fear of God, and in good learning, in modesty and civility, that so their Schooles may bring forth able men, both for the Church and Common-wealth.

IV.

4. They shall instruct them in *Grammar*, *Rhetorick* and *Logick*, and of *Classicke* authors, in the most pure both for learning and language; for fear left children reading lascivious

laſcivious and immodeſt writings, ſhould be infected with their venom.

V.

5. If they perceive any of their Scholars to be towardly and of good hope, they ſhall adviſe their Parents to bring them up to the attainment of good learning; or elſe ſhall obtain for them of the *Governours* and *Magiſtrates*, that they maintain them at the publick charge.

VI.

6. They ſhall cauſe their Scholars to come to Sermons and to Catechiſmes, there to anſwer to the Miniſter; and they ſhall take their places neer the *chaire*, to be ſeen of all, that ſo they may demean themſelves orderly in the Church of God.

VII.

7. The *Miniſters* ſhall overſee the *School-maſters*, to the end that the youth be well inſtructed; and for this cauſe ſhall hold their *Viſitations* twice a year, the better to underſtand how they profit. If it be thought expedient, they may take with them ſome one or two of the neighbour *Miniſters*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Elders.

Article I.

1. THe *Elders* ought to preſerve the Church in good order, together with the Miniſters; and ſhall take care eſpecially that the Church be not deſtitute of Paſtors, of whom the care ſhall appertain to them to ſee that they be honeſtly provided for. They ſhall watch alſo over all the flock, eſpecially over that part of it committed to them by the *Conſiſtory*; diligently employing themſelves to admoniſh and reprehend ſuch as are faul-

ty, to confirme the good, and reconcile ſuch as are at difference.

II.

2. They ſhall certifie all ſcandals to the *Conſiſtory*.

III.

3. They ſhall viſit (as much as in them lyeth) all the houſholds in their diviſion, before every communion; and once yearly with the Miniſter, to know the better how they behave themſelves in their ſeverall families. And if they finde among them any refractory and contentious perſons which will not be reconciled, to make a report of it to the *Conſiſtory*.

IV.

4. They ſhall aſſemble in the *Conſiſtory* with the Miniſters; which *Conſiſtory* ſhall be holden, if it may be, every Sunday, or any other day convenient, to handle cauſes of the Church. And thoſe of them which are elected to go unto the *Colloquies* and *Synods* with the Miniſters, ſhall not fail to goe at the day appointed.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Deacons.

Article I.

1. THe *Deacons* ſhall be appointed in the Church to gather the benevolence of the people, and to diſtribute it according to the neceſſities of the poor, by the directions of the *Conſiſtory*.

II.

2. They ſhall gather theſe benevolences after Sermons, faithfully endevouring the good and welfare of the poor; and if need require, they ſhall go unto the houſes of thoſe men which are more charitably enclined, to collect their bounties.

3. They

III.

3. They ſhall diſtribute nothing without direction from the *Conſiſtory*, but in caſe of urgent neceſſity.

IV.

4. The almes ſhall be principally diſtributed unto thoſe of the faithfull, which are naturall Inhabitants; and if there be a ſurpluſage, they may diſpoſe it to the relief of ſtrangers.

V.

5. For the avoiding of ſuſpicion, the *Deacons* ſhall keep a regiſter both of their Receipts and their diſburſements, and ſhall caſt up his accounts in the preſence of the Miniſter, and one of the Elders.

VI.

6. The *Deacons* ſhall give up their accounts every Communion day, after the evening Sermon, in the preſence of the Miniſters, the Elders, and as many of the people as will be aſſiſtant; who therefore ſhall have warning to be there.

VII.

7. They ſhall take order that the poor may be relieved without begging; and ſhall take care that young men fit for labour be ſet unto ſome occupation; of which they ſhall give notice to the officers of Juſtice, that ſo no perſon be permitted to go begging from door to door.

VIII.

8. They ſhall provide for thoſe of the poor which are ſick or in priſon, to comfort and aſſiſt them in their neceſſity.

IX.

9. The ſhall be aſſiſtant in the *Conſiſtory* with the *Miniſters* and *Elders*, there to propoſe unto them the neceſſities of the poor, and to receive their directions; as alſo in the election of other *Deacons*.

X.

10. There ought to be *Deacons* in every Pariſh, unleſſe the *Elders* will take upon them the charge of collecting the almes, and diſtributing thereof amongſt the poor.

The Liturgie of the Church, wherein there is contained the preaching of the Goſpell, the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, *the Laws of* Marriage, *the Viſitation of the* Sick, *and ſomewhat alſo of* Buriall.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Preaching of the Goſpell.

Article I.

1. THe people ſhall be aſſembled twice every Sunday in the Church, to hear the *Preaching* of the *Goſpell*, and to be aſſiſtant at the publick prayers. They ſhall alſo meet together once or twice a week, on thoſe dayes which ſhall be thought moſt convenient for the ſeverall Pariſhes; the Maſter of every houſhold bringing with him thoſe of his family.

II.

2. The people being aſſembled before Sermon, there ſhall be read a Chapter out of the *Canonicall* books of Scripture only, and not of the *Apocrypha*; and it ſhall be read by one which beareth office in the Church, or at the leaſt, by one of honeſt converſation.

III.

3. During the prayer, every one ſhall be upon his knees, with his head uncovered. Alſo during the ſinging of the *Pſalmes*, the adminiſtration of the Sacraments; and whileſt the Miniſter is reading of his text, every one ſhall be *uncovered*, and ſhall attentively obſerve all that is done and ſaid.

4. The

IV.

4. The Ministers every Sunday after dinner shall *Catechize*, and shall choose some text of Scripture sutable to that section which they are to handle; and shall read in the beginning of that exercise the said text, as the foundation of the Doctrine contained in that Section.

V.

5. The Church shall be locked immediately after Sermon and the publick prayers, to avoid superstition; and the benches shall be orderly disposed, that every one may hear the voice of the Preacher.

VI.

6. The Churches being dedicated to Gods service, shall not be imployed to prophane uses; and therefore intreaty shall be made to the Magistrate, that no *Civill Courts* be there holden.

CHAP. IX.

Of Baptisme.

Article I.

1. THe Sacrament of *Baptisme* shall be administred in the Church, after the Preaching of the Word, and before the *Benediction*.

II.

2. The Parents of the Infants, if they are not in some journey, shall be near the Infant, together with the *Sureties*, to present it unto God; and shall joyntly promise to instruct it, according as they are obliged.

III.

3. No man shall be admitted to be a *Surety* in holy *Baptisme*, which hath not formerly received the Communion, or

which is not fit to receive it, and doth promiſe ſo to do upon the next conveniency, whereof he ſhall bring an atteſtation if he be a ſtranger.

IV.

4. They which intend to bring an Infant unto holy *Baptiſme*, ſhall give competent warning unto the Miniſter.

V.

5. The Miniſter ſhall not admit of ſuch names as were uſed in the time of *Paganiſm*, the names of *Idols*, the names attributed to God in Scripture, or names of office, as *Angell*, *Eaptiſt*, *Apoſtle*.

VI.

6. In every Pariſh there ſhall be kept a Regiſter of ſuch as are *Baptized*, their *Fathers*, *Mothers*, *Sureties*, and the day of it; as alſo of *Marriages* and *Funerals*, which ſhall be carefully preſerved.

CHAP. X.

Of the Lords Supper.

Article I.

1. THe *holy Supper* of our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* ſhall be celebrated four times a year, *viz.* at *Eaſter* or the firſt Sunday of *April*, the firſt Sunday of *July*, the firſt Sunday of *October*, and the firſt Sunday of *January*, and that after the Sermon, in which expreſſe mention ſhall be made of the buſineſſe then in hand, or at leaſt a touch of it in the end.

II.

2. The manner of it ſhall be this, The Table ſhall be ſet in ſome convenient place near the Pulpit; the people ſhall communicate in order, and that *ſitting*, as is moſt conformable to the firſt inſtitution; or elſe *ſtanding*, as is accuſtomed in ſome places; the men firſt, and afterwards the

the women; none ſhall depart the place untill after *Thanksgiving* and the *Benediction*.

III.

3. They which intend to be *communicants*, ſhall firſt be *catechized* by the Miniſter, that ſo they may be able to render a reaſon of their faith. They ought alſo to underſtand the *Lords Prayer*, the *Articles of their belief*, the *Ten Commandements*, or at the leaſt the ſubſtance of them. They ſhall alſo abjure the Pope, the Maſſe, and all ſuperſtition and Idolatry.

IV.

4. No man ſhall be admitted to the *Lords Supper*, which is not of the years of diſcretion, and which hath not a good teſtimony of his life and converſation, and which will not promiſe to *ſubmit himſelf unto the Diſcipline*.

V.

5. If any be accuſed before the *Juſtice* to have committed any crime, he ſhall be admoniſhed to forbear the *Supper* untill he be acquitted.

VI.

6. The Miniſter ſhall not receive any of another Pariſh without a teſtimony from the *Paſtor*, or if there be no Paſtor, from one of the *Elders*.

VII.

7. They which refuſe to be reconciled, ſhall be debarred the *Communion*.

VIII.

8. The people ſhall have warning fifteen dayes at the leaſt before the *Communion*, to the end they may be prepared for it.

IX.

9. Beſides the firſt examination which they undergoe, before they are partakers of the *Lords Supper*, every one ſhall again be Catechized, at the leaſt once a year, at the beſt conveniency of the Miniſter, and of his people.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Faſts and Thanksgiving.

Article I.

1. THe publick *Faſts* ſhall be celebrated in the Church when the *Colloquie* or the *Synod* think it moſt expedient, as a day of reſt; in which there ſhall be a Sermon both in the morning and the afternoon, accompanyed with Prayers, reading of the Scripture, and ſinging of Pſalmes; all this to be diſpoſed according to the occaſions and cauſes of the *Faſt*, and by the authority of the Magiſtrate.

II.

2. Solemn *Thanksgiving* alſo ſhall be celebrated after the ſame manner as the Faſt, the whole exerciſe being ſutable to the occaſion of the ſame.

CHAP. XII.

Of Marriage.

Article I.

1. ALL contracts of *Marriage* ſhall be made in the preſence of Parents, Friends, Guardians, or the Maſters of the parties, and with their conſent, as alſo in the preſence of the Miniſter, or of an *Elder*, or a *Deacon*, before whom the contract ſhall be made, with invocation on the name of God, without which it is no contract. And as for thoſe which are *ſui juris*, the preſence of the Miniſter, or of the *Elders*, or of the *Deacons*, ſhall be alſo neceſſary for good orders ſake. And from a promiſe thus made, there ſhall be no departing.

II.

2. Children and ſuch as are in Wardſhip, ſhall not make any promiſe of *Marriage*, wthout the conſent of their Fathers

Fathers and Mothers, or of their Gardians in whoſe power they are.

III.

3. If the Parents are ſo unreaſonable as not to agree unto a thing ſo holy, the *Conſiſtory* ſhall give them ſuch advice as is expedient; to which advice if they not hearken, they ſhall have recourſe unto the Magiſtrate.

IV.

4. They alſo which have been *Married* ſhall owe ſo much reſpect unto their Parents, as not to *marry* again without their leave; in default whereof they ſhall incur the cenſures of the Church.

V.

5. No ſtranger ſhall be affianced without licence fr om the Governours or their Lieutenants.

VI.

6. The degrees of *conſanguinity* and of *affinity* prohibited in the word of God, ſhall be carefully looked into, by ſuch as purpoſe to be *marryed.*

VII.

7. Thoſe which are affianced, ſhall promiſe, and their Parents with them, that they will be *marryed* within 3 moneths after the contract, or within 6 moneths in caſe either of them have occaſion of a Journey; if they obey not, they ſhall incur the cenſures of the Church.

VIII.

8. The *Banes* ſhall be asked ſucceſſively three Sundayes in the Church, where the parties do inhabit; and if they *marry* in another Pariſh, they ſhall carry with them a teſtimony from the Miniſter by whom their *Banes* were publiſhed; without which they ſhall not *marry.*

IX.

9. For the avoiding of the abuſe and profanation of the Lords-day, and the manifeſt prejudice done unto the Word of God, on thoſe dayes wherein *Marriage* hath been ſolemnized; it is found expedient, that it be no longer ſolemnized upon the Sunday, but upon ſome Lecture days which happen in the week only.

X.

10. If any purpoſe to forbid the *Bancs*, he ſhall firſt addreſſe himſelf unto the Miniſter, or two of the *Elders*, by whom he ſhall be appointed to appear in the next *Conſiſtory*, there to alleadge the reaſons of his ſo doing, whereof the *Conſiſtory* ſhall be judge. If he appeal from thence, the cauſe ſhall be referred unto the next *Colloquie*.

XI.

11. Thoſe which have too familiarly converſed together before their *eſpouſals*, ſhall not be permitted to *marry* before they have made confeſſion of their fault: if the crime be notoriouſly publick, before the whole congregation; if leſſe known, the *Conſiſtory* ſhall determine of it.

XII.

12. Widowes which are minded to *re-marry*, ſhall not be permitted to contract themſelves untill ſix moneths after the deceaſe of their dead husbands; as well for honeſties ſake, and their own good report, as to avoid divers inconveniences. And as for men, they alſo ſhall be admoniſhed to attend ſome certain time, but without conſtraint.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Viſitation of the ſick.

Article I.

1. THoſe which are afflicted with *ſickneſſe*, ſhall in due time advertiſe them which bear office in the Church; to the end, that by they them may be *viſited* and comforted.

2. Thoſe

II.

2. Thoſe which are *ſick* ſhall in due time be admoniſhed to make their *Wils*, while as yet they be in perfect memory, and that in the preſence of their Miniſter or Overſeer, or other honeſt and ſufficient perſons, which ſhall witneſſe to the ſaid *Wils* or *Teſtaments*, that ſo they may be approved and ſtand in force.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Buriall.

Article I.

1. THe *Corps* ſhall not be carryed, nor *interred* within the Church, but in the Church-yard only, appointed for the *buryall* of the faithfull.

II.

2. The Parents, Friends and Neighbours of the *deceaſed*, and all ſuch whom the Parents ſhall intreat, as alſo the *Miniſters*, if they may conveniently (as members of the Church and Brethren, but not in relation to their charge no more then the *Elders* and the *Deacons*) ſhall accompany the body in good faſhion unto the *grave*. In which action there ſhall neither be a Sermon, nor Prayers, nor ſound of Bell, nor any other ceremony whatſoever.

III.

3. The bodies of the *dead* ſhall not be interred without notice given unto the *Miniſter*.

IV.

4. The bodies of thoſe which die *excommunicate*, ſhall not be interred among the faithfull without the appointment of the Magiſtrate.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Church cenſures.

Article I.

1. ALL thoſe which are of the Church, ſhall be ſubject unto the *cenſures* of the ſame; as well they which bear office in it, as they which have none.

II.

2. The ſentence of *Abſtention* from the *Lords Supper*, ſhall be publiſhed only in caſe of *Hereſie*, *Schiſme*, or other ſuch notorious crime, whereof the *Conſiſtory* ſhall be judge.

III.

3. Thoſe which receive not the *Admonitions* and *Reprehenſions* made unto them in the word of God, which continue hardned without hope of returning into the right way, after many exhortations; if otherwiſe they may not be reclaimed, ſhall be *excommunicate*: wherein the proceeding ſhall be for three Sundayes together, after this enſuing manner.

IV.

4. The *firſt Sunday* the people ſhall be exhorted to pray for the offender, without naming the perſon or the crime.

V.

5. The *ſecond Sunday* the perſon ſhall be named, but not the crime. The third, the perſon ſhall be named, his offence publiſhed, and himſelf be *excommunicate*. Which ſentence ſhall ſtand in force as long as he continueth in his obſtinacy.

VI.

6. Thoſe which are *excommunicate*, are to be caſt out of the boſome of the Church, that they may neither be admitted unto publick Prayer, nor to the Preaching of the Goſpell.

7. They

VII.

7. They which bearing publick office in the Church, become guilty of any crime, which in a private person might deserve an *Abstention* from the *Lords table*, shall be suspended from their charge; and they which are found guilty of any crime, which in a private person might merit *excommunication*, shall be deposed.

VIII.

8. In like manner, those which are convicted of such a fault, by reason whereof they be thought unfit to exercise their functions to the edification of the Church, shall be deposed.

IX.

9. If the offender repent him of his sin, and demand *absolution* of the *Consistory*, they shall diligently informe themselves of his conversation; whereupon there shall be notice of it given unto the people the Sunday before he be admitted, and shall make acknowledgment, to be restored unto the peace of the Church.

X.

10. The second Sunday he shall be brought before the Pulpit, and in some eminent place, where he shall make *confession* of his sin; demanding pardon of God, and of the Church with his own mouth, in confirmation of that which the Minister shall say of his repentance.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Ecclesiasticall Assemblies for the rule and government of the Church.

Article I.

1. IN all *Ecclesiasticall Assemblies*, the Ministers shall preside as well to collect the suffrages as to command silence, to pronounce sentence according to the plurality of voices,

as alſo to denounce the *cenſures*; unto which himſelf as well as others ſhall be ſubject.

II.

2. The *cenſures* ſhall be denounced with all meekneſſe of ſpirit.

III.

3. The *Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies* ſhall commence and end with prayer and thankſgiving; this is to be done by him that is then Preſident.

IV.

4. All they which are there *aſſembled*, ſhall ſpeak every one in his own order, without interrupting one another.

V.

5. None ſhall depart the place without licence.

VI.

6. All matters of *Eccleſiaſticall cogniſance* ſhall be there treated and decided according to the word of God, without encroaching upon the civill juriſdiction.

VII.

7. If there happen any buſineſſe of importance, which cannot be diſpatched in the leſſer *Aſſemblies*, they ſhall be referred unto the greater. In like manner, if any think himſelf agrieved by the leſſer Aſſemblies, he may appeal unto the greater. Provided, that nothing be handled in the greater Aſſemblies, which hath not been formerly treated in the leſſer, unleſſe in caſe only of *remiſſion*.

VIII.

8. There ſhall be kept a *Regiſter* of all things memorable done in the *Aſſemblies*; and a *Scribe* appointed in each of them for that purpoſe.

IX.

9. The *Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies* in the main body of them ſhall

ſhall not intermeddle with buſineſſe appertaining to the *Civill Courts*; notwithſtanding that, they may be members of the ſame as private perſons, but this not often, *viz.* when there is a buſineſſe of great conſequence to be determined.

X.

10. He that is baniſhed from the *Lords table*, or ſuſpended from his office by one *Aſſembly*, ſhall be readmitted only by the ſame.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the ſimple or unmixt Aſſembly, which is the Conſiſtory.

Article I.

1. THe *Conſiſtory* is an *Aſſembly* of the *Miniſters* and *Elders* of every Church, for the government of the ſame, for ſuperintendency over mens manners, and their doctrine; for the correction of vices, and the incouragement of the good. In this there may be aſſiſtants both the *Deacons* and the *Proponents*, thoſe *viz.* which are nominated to be *Miniſters*, the better to faſhion them unto the Diſcipline and guidance of the Church.

II.

2. The *Conſiſtory* ſhall be *aſſembled* every Sunday, or any other day and time convenient, to conſult about the buſineſſe of the Church.

III.

3. No man ſhall be called unto the Church without the advice of the *Miniſter* and two *Elders* at the leaſt, in caſe of neceſſity; and every *Elder* or *Sexton* ſhall give notice unto thoſe of his diviſion, according as he is appointed.

4. The

IV.

4. The *Elders* ſhall not make report unto the *Conſiſtory* of any ſecret faults, but ſhall obſerve the order commanded by our *Saviour*, *Mat.* 18. Reproving in ſecret ſuch faults as are ſecret.

V.

5. Neither the *Miniſter* nor the *Elder* ſhall name unto the *Conſiſtory* thoſe men of whoſe faults they make report, without direction from the *Conſiſtory*.

VI.

6. The *cenſures* of the *Conſiſtory* ſhall be denounced on ſome convenient day before every *Communion*; at which time they ſhall alſo paſſe their opinions on the *Schoole-maſter*.

VII.

7. The *Conſiſtory* ſhall make choice of thoſe which go to the *Colloquie*.

VIII.

8. The correction of crimes and ſcandals appertains unto the *Conſiſtory*, ſo far as to *excommunication*.

IX.

9. In *Eccleſiaſticall* buſineſſe the *Conſiſtory* ſhall make enquiry into ſuch crimes as are brought before them, and ſhall adjure the parties in the name of God to ſpeak the truth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Aſſemblies compound, viz. *the Colloquies and the Synods.*

Article I.

1. IN the beginning of the *Aſſembly*, the Miniſters and Elders which ought to be aſſiſtant, ſhall be called by name.

2. The

II.

2. The persons appointed to be there, shall not fail to make their appearance, upon pain of being *censured* by the next Assembly, unto which they shall be summoned.

III.

3. The Articles of the precedent *Assembly* shall be read before they enter upon any businesse, to know the better how they have been put in execution. And at the end of every *Assembly*, the *Elders* shall take a copy of that which is there enacted, that so they may all direct themselves by the same rule.

IV.

4. In every *Assembly* there shall be one appointed for the *Scribe*, to register the acts of the *Assembly*.

V.

5. In the end of every *Assembly*, there shall a favourable censure passe, of the *Consistories* in generall, of the *Ministers* and *Elders* which shall be there assistant; and principally of that which hath been done in the *Assembly*, during the Sessions.

VI.

6. The sentence of *Excommunication* shall be awarded only in these *Assemblies*.

VII.

7. The Justices shall be entreated to intermit the course of pleading, both ordinary and extraordinary, during the *Colloquies* and the *Synods*; to the end, that those which ought to be assistant, may not be hindred.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Colloquie.

Article I.

1. THe *Colloquie* is an Assembly of the *Ministers* and *Elders* delegated from each severall Church in either *Island*, for the governance of those Churches, and the advancement of the Discipline.

II.

2. The *Colloquies* shall be assembled four times a year, *viz.* ten dayes before every Communion; upon which day the word of God shall be proposed, according to the forme before established, Chap. Of *Ministers*.

III.

3. The Ministers of *Alderney* and *Serke* shall make their appearance once yearly at the least, at the *Colloquie* of *Guernzey*; but for that one time it may be such as shall most stand with their convenience.

IV.

4. The *Colloquie* shall make choice of those which are to go unto the *Synod*, and shall give unto them Letters of credence.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Synod.

Article I.

1. THe *Synod* is an Assembly of *Ministers* and *Elders* delegated from the *Colloquies* of both Islands.

II.

2. The *Synod* shall be assembled from two years to two years

years in *Jarſey* and *Guernzey* by turnes, if there be no neceſſity to exact them oftner; in which caſe thoſe of that Iſle where the *Synod* is thought neceſſary, ſhall ſet forwards the buſineſſe by the advice of both *Colloquies*.

III.

3. There ſhall be choſen in every *Synod*, a *Miniſter* to moderate in the Aſſembly, and a *Clerk* to regiſter the acts.

IV.

4. The Miniſter of the place where the Aſſembly ſhall be holden, ſhall conceive a prayer in the beginning of the firſt Seſſion.

V.

5. The *Colloquies* ſhall in convenient time, mutually advertiſe each other in generall of thoſe things, which they have to motion in the *Synod*; to the end that every one may conſider of them more adviſedly. Which ſaid advertiſement ſhall be given before the *Colloquie*, which precedeth the *Synod*, in as much as poſſible it may. And as for matters of the leſſer conſequence, they ſhall be imparted on the firſt day of the Seſſion.

The Concluſion.

Thoſe Articles which concern the *Diſcipline*, are ſo eſtabliſhed, that for as much as they are founded upon the word of God, they are adjudged immutable. And as for thoſe which are meerly *Eccleſiaſticall*, *i. e.* framed and confirmed for the commodity of the Church, according to the circumſtance of perſons, time and place; they may be altered by the ſame authority, by which they were contrived and ratifyed.

THE END.

Chap. V.

(1) *Annotations on the* Diſcipline. (2) *No place in it for the Kings* Supremacy. (3) *Their love to* Parity, *as well in the State as in the Church.* (4) *The covering of the head a ſign of liberty.* (5) *The* right hands of fellowſhip. (6) Agenda *what it is, in the notion of the Church; The intruſion of the Elderſhip into Domeſtical affairs.* (7) *Millets caſe.* (8) *The brethren ſuperſtitious in giving names to children.* (9) *Ambling Communions.* (10) *The* holy Diſcipline *made a a third note of the Church.* (11) *Marriage at certain times prohibited by the* Diſcipline. (12) *Dead bodies anciently not interred in Cities.* (13) *The Baptiſm of Bels.* (14) *The brethren under pretence of* ſcandal, *uſurp upon the* civil Courts. (15) *The* Diſcipline *incroacheth on our Church by ſtealth.* (16) *A caution to the Prelates.*

Sic nata Romana ſuperſtitio; quorum ritus ſi percenſeas, ridenda quam multa, multa etiam miſeranda ſunt: as in an equal caſe, *Minutius*. This is that *Helena* which lately had almoſt occaſioned τὸ συγχωῆαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα to put all the cities of our *Greece* into combuſtion: This that *Lemanian Idol*, before which all the Churches of the world, were commanded to fall down and worſhip: this that ſo holy *Diſcipline*, ſo eſſential to the conſtitution of a Church, that without it, Faith and the Sacraments were to be judged unprofitable. *Egregiam vero laudem & ſpolia ampla.* How infinitely are we obliged to thoſe moſt excellent contrivers, that firſt exhibited unto the world ſo neat a model of Church

Church Government! with what praises must we celebrate the memory of those, which with such violent industry endevoured to impose upon the world, these trim inventions! But this I leave unto your Lordship to determine: proceeding to some scattered Annnotations on the precedent text; wherein I shall not censure their devices, but expound them.

Cap. 1. 3. *As bearing chief stroke in the Civil Government.*] For in the Government *Ecclesiastical*, they decline his judgement as incompetent: An excellent instance whereof we have in the particular of *David Blacke*, a Minister of *Scotland*, who having in a Sermon traduced the person and government of the King: was by the King commanded to appear before him. But on the other side, the Church revoked the cause unto their *tribunal*, *& jussit eum judicium illud declinare*, saith mine Author. True it is, that in the next chapter they afford him power to correct *Blasphemers*, *Atheists*, and *Idolaters*: but this only as the executioners of their decrees; and in the punishment of such whom their assemblies have condemned. On the other side, they take unto themselves, the designation of all those, which bear publick office in the Church: Chap. 3 7. The appointing and proclaiming all publick fasts: Chap. 11. 1. The presidency in their Assemblies: Chap. 16. 1. The calling of their Councels: Chap. 19. 20. Matters in which consists the life of Soveraignty. No marvell then if that party so much dislike the *Supremacy* of Princes in cau'es Ecclesiastical: as being *ex diametro* opposed to the *Consistorian* Monarchy. A lesson taught them by their first *Patriarch* in his Commentaries on the 7. chapter of the Prophet *Amos*, vers. 13. in these words, and in this particular. *Qui tantopere extulerunt Henricum Angliæ* (understand the 8. of the name) *certe fuerunt homines inconsiderati: dederunt enim illi summam rerum omnium potestatem; & hoc me graviter semper vulneravit.* Afterwards he is content to permit them so much power as is granted them in the 2 chapter of this Book of *Discipline*: but yet will not have then deal too much in *spiritualities*. *Hoc* (saith he) *summopere requiritur a regibus, ut gladio quo præditi sunt, utantur, ad*

cultum dei asserendum. Sed interea sunt homines inconsiderati, qui faciunt eos, nimis spirituales. So he, and so his followers since.

Chap. 3. 4. *No Church officer shall or ought to pretend any superiority or dominion over his companions.*] And in the chapt. 1. 2. *No one Church shall pretend, &c.* And this indeed, this *parity* is that which all their projects did so mainly drive at: these men conceiving of *Religion* as *Philosophers* of friendship; *cum amicitia semper pares aut inveniat, aut faciat*: as in *Minutius*. A *parity* by those of this party so earnestly affected in the Church: the better to introduce it also into the State. This was it which principally occasioned *G. Buchanan* in the Epistle before his libellous Book *De jure regni*, to reckon those common titles of Majesty and Highnesse, usually attributed unto Princes, *inter barbarismos Aulicos*, amongst the solecisms and absurdities of Courtship. This was it, which taught *Paræus* and the rest that there was a power in the inferiour Magistrates to restrain the person of the Prince; and in some cases to depose him. This was it, which often moved the *Scottish* Ministery to put the sword into the hands of the multitude: and I am verily perswaded that there is no one thing which maketh the brethren so affected to our Parliaments, as this, that it is a body, wherein the Commons have so much sway.

Chap. 3. 6. *Shall first subscribe to the confession of the Faith used in the reformed Churches*] But the *reformed Churches* are very many, and their confessions in some points very different. The *Lutheran* Confessions are for *consubstantiation* and *ubiquity*: the *English* is for *Homilies*, for *Bishops*, for the *Kings Supremacy*: and so not likely to be intended. The confession then here intended, must be that only of *Geneva*, which Church alone is thought by some of them to have been rightly and perfectly reformed.

Chap. 4. 1. *To propose the Word of God.*] The fashion of it, this; such as by study have enabled themselves for the holy Ministery; upon the vacancy of any Church, have by the

Colloquie

Colleqnie, ſome time appointed, to make trial (as they call it) of their gift. The day come, and the *Colloquie* aſſembled, they deſign him a particular place of Scripture, for the ground of his diſcourſe: which done, and the *proponent* (for ſo they term him) commanded to withdraw, they paſſe their cenſures on him, every one of them in their order: if they approve of him, they then ſend him alſo to *propoſe* unto the people, as in the ſecond Article.

Chap. 4. 2. *And that bareheaded*] And this it may be, becauſe *Candidates*; peradventure, becauſe not yet initiated. For themſelves having once attained the honour to be *Maſters in Iſrael*; they permit their heads to be warmly covered: a thing not in uſe only by the Miniſters of the *Geneva* way; but (as my ſelf have ſeen it) among the Prieſts and *Jeſuites*. I know the putting on of the hat is a ſign of liberty; that the *Laconians* being made free Denizens of *Lacedemon*, would never go into the battail, *niſi pileati*, without their hats: and that the Gent. of *Rome* did uſe to manumit their ſlaves, by giving them a cap; whereupon *ad pileum vocare*, is as much as to ſet one free. Yet on the other ſide, I think it little prejudicial to that liberty, not to make ſuch full uſe of it, in the performance of thoſe pious duties. True it is, that by this book of *Diſcipline* the people are commanded to be *uncovered*, during the Prayers, the reading of the Text, the ſinging of the Pſalmes, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Chap. 8. 3. But when I call to minde, that S. *Paul* hath told us this, 1 Cor. 11. *That every man praying or prophecying with his head covered diſhonoureth his head*: I ſhall applaud the pious modeſty of the *Engliſh* miniſtery; who keep their *heads uncovered*, as well when they prophecy as when they pray.

To give them inſtitution by impoſition of hands.] A ceremony not uſed only in the *Ordination* (if I may ſo call it) of their Miniſters, but in that alſo of the *Elder* and of the *Deacons*: perſons meerly *Laical*. But this in mine opinion very improperly: for when the Miniſter whoſe duty it is, inſtals them in their charge; with this ſolemn form of words he doth perform it. *Je t' impoſe les mains, &c. viz.* I lay mine hands

hands upon you in the name of the *Consistory*; by which imposition of hands you are advertised, that you are set apart from the *affairs of the world* &c. and if so, how then can these men receive this *imposition*, who for the whole year of their charge, imploy themselves in their former occupations, at times; and that expired, return again unto them altogether? A meer mockage of a reverent ceremony.

Chap. 4. 3. *Giving and receiving the hand of Association*] An ordinance founded on that in the 2. to the *Gal.* 5. *viz. They gave unto me and* Barnabas *the right hands of fellowship*: An embleme, as it is noted by *Theod. Beza*, on the place, of a perfect agreement and consent in the holy faith; *Quod Symbolum esset nostræ in Evangelii doctrina summæ consensionis*: and much also to this purpose that of learned *Chrysostome*; δείκνυσι διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπὸ, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ ἐκείνων: This phrase of speech borrowed, no question, from the customes of those times; wherein the giving of the hand, was a most certain pledge of faith and amity. So *Anchises* in the third book of *Æneids Dextram dat juveni, atq; animum præsenti pignore firmat*: so in another place of the same author; *Jungimus hospitio dextras. Commissaq; dextera dextræ*, in the Epistle of *Phillis* to *Demophoon*. Whereupon it is the note of the *Grammarians*, that as the front or fore-head is sacred to the *Genius*; and the knees to mercy: so is the right hand consecrated unto faith. But here in *Guernzey* there is a further use made of this ceremony; which is an *abjuration* of all other arts of preaching, or of government, to which the party was before accustomed: and an absolute devoting of himself to them, their ordinances and constitutions whatsoever. So that if a Minister of the Church of *England* should be perchance received among them: by this *hand* of *association*, he must in a manner condemn that Church of which he was.

Chap. 5. 5. *That they maintain them at the publick charge.*] A bounty very common in both Islands: and ordered in this manner; the businesse is by one of the Assembly expounded to the *three Estates, viz.* that *N. N.* may be sent abroad to the Universities of *France* or *England*, and de-

frayed

frayed upon the common purſe. If it be granted, then muſt the party bring in ſufficient ſureties to be bound for him; that at the end of the time limited, he ſhall repair into the Iſlands, and make a profer of his ſervice in ſuch places, as they think fit for him; if they accept it, he is provided for at home: if not, he is at liberty to ſeek his fortune.

Chap. 6. 3. *How they behave themſelves in their ſeveral families*] By which clauſe the Elders authoriſed to make enquiry into the lives and converſations of all about them: not only aiming at it by the voice of fame, but by tampering with their neighbours, and examining their ſervants. It is alſo given them in charge, at their admiſſion into office; to make diligent enquiry, whether thoſe in their diviſion, have private prayers both morning and evening in their houſes; whether they conſtantly ſay grace, both before meat and after it; if not, to make report of it to the *Conſiſtory*. A diligence, in my minde, both dangerous and lawcy.

Chap. 8. 1. *To be aſſiſtant at the publick prayers*] The *publick prayers* here intended, are thoſe which the Miniſter conceives according to the preſent occaſion: beginning with a ſhort confeſſion, and ſo deſcending to crave the aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit in the exerciſe, or Sermon then in hand. For the forme, the *Geneva* Pſalter telleth us, that it ſhall be left *alla diſcretion du Miniſtre*, to the Miniſters diſcretion: the form of *Prayers*, and of Marriage, and of adminiſtration of the Sacraments, there put down; being *types* only and examples, whereby the Miniſter may be directed in the general. The learned *Architect* which took ſuch great pains in making the *Altare Damaſcenum*, tels us in that piece of his, that in the Church of *Scotland* there is alſo an *Agenda*, or form of prayer and of ceremony: but for his part having been 13 years a Miniſter, he never uſed it. *Totos ego tredecem annos quibus functus ſum Miniſterio, ſive in Sacramentis, & iis quæ extant in* agenda, *nunquam uſus ſum*: and this he ſpeaks as he conceives it, to his commendation. Where by the way, *Agenda*,

(it is a word of the latter times) is to be understood for a set form in the performance of those ministerial duties, *quæ statis temporibus* agenda *sunt*, as mine Author hath it. In the *Capitular* of *Charles* the great, we have mention of this word *Agenda*, in divers places: once for all, let that suffice in the 6 book, *Can.* 234. *viz. Si quis Presbyter in consulto Episcopo*, Agendam *in quolibet loco voluerint celebrare; ipse honori suo contrarius extitit.*

Chap. 8. 5. *The Churches shall be locked immediately after Sermon*] The pretence is as it followeth in the next words, *to avoid superstition*: but having nothing in their Churches to provoke superstition; the caution is unnecessary. So destitute are they all both of ornament and beauty. The true cause is, that those of that party are offended with the antient custome of stepping aside into the *Temples*, and their powring out the soul in private prayer unto God: because forsooth it may imply, that there is some secret vertue in those places more then in rooms of ordinary use; which they are peremptory not to give them.

Chap. 9. 1. *After the preaching of the word*] And there are two reasons why the Sacrament of Baptism should be long delayed: the one because they falsly think, that without the preaching of the word there is no Sacrament: the other to take away the opinion of the *necessity* of holy *Baptism*; and the administration of it in private houses in case of such *necessity*. In this strictnesse very resolute, and not to be bended with perswasions, scarce with power. At our being in the Isle of *Guernzy*, the Ministers presented unto his Lordship a catalogue of grievances against the civill Magistrate. And this among the rest, that they had entermedled with the administration of the Sacraments. This certainly was *novum crimen* C. Cæsar, *& ante hoc tempus inauditum*: but upon examination it proved only to be thus. A poor man of the Vale had a childe born unto him weak and sickly; not like to live till the publick exercise; whereupon he desires *Millet* the Incumbent there, that he would Baptize it: but after two or three denials made, the poor man com-

complained unto the *Bailiffe*; by whom the Miniſter was commanded to do his duty. This was all, *& crimine ab uno diſce omnes.*

Chap. 9. 5. *Names uſed in Paganiſm*] Nor mean they here, ſuch names as occur in Poets, as *Hector*, *Hercules*, *&c.* though names of this ſort occurre frequently in S. *Pauls* Epiſtles: but even ſuch names as formerly have been in uſe amongſt our anceſtors; as *Richard*, *Edmund*, *William*, and the like. But concerning this behold a ſtory wherein our great contriver *Snape* was a chief party, as I finde in the book called *Dangerous poſitions*, &c. verified upon the oath of one of the brotherhood. *Hodkinſon* of *Northampton*, having a childe to be baptized, repaired to *Snape* to do it for him: and he conſented to the motion, but with promiſe, that he ſhould give it ſome name allowed in Scripture. The childe being brought, and that holy action ſo far forwards, that they were come to the naming of the childe, they named it *Richard*: which was the name of the Infants Grandfather by the Mothers ſide. Upon this a ſtop was made, nor would he be perſwaded to baptize the childe; unleſſe the name of it were altered: which when the Godfather refuſed to do, he forſook the place, and the childe was carried back unchriſtned. To this purpoſe, but not in the ſame words, the whole hiſtory. But if the name of *Richard* be ſo *Paganiſh*, what then ſhall we conceive of theſe; *The Lord is near*, *More-tryall*, *Joy-again*, *Free-gift*, *From-above*, and others of that ſtamp? are they alſo extant in the Scripture?

Chap. 10. 2. *And that ſitting &c. or ſtanding &c*] In this our *Synodiſts* more moderate, then thoſe of the *Netherlands*, who have licenſed it to be adminiſtred unto men, even when they are walking. For thus *Angelocrator* in his *Epitome* of the *Dutch Synods*, cap. 13. art. 8. *viz. Liberum eſt ſtando, ſedendo, vel eundo, cœnam celebrare, non autem geniculando*: and the reaſon, queſtionleſſe, the ſame in both; *ob ἀρτολατρείας periculum*; for fear of bread-worſhip. I had before heard ſometimes of *ambling Communions*; but till I met with that *Epitome*, I could not ſtumble on the meaning. A ſtrange and

ſtubborn generation; and ſtiffer in the hams, then any *Elephant:* ſuch as will neither *bow* the *knee* to the *Name* of *Jeſus*, nor kneel to him in his Sacraments.

Chap. 10. 4. *which will not promiſe to ſubmit himſelf unto the Diſcipline*] A thing before injoyned in the ſubſcription to it, upon all ſuch as take upon them any publick office in the Church: but here exacted in the ſubmiſſion to it of all ſuch as deſire to be Communicants. The reaſon is, becauſe about that time it ſeemed good unto the brethren to make the *holy Diſcipline*, as eſſential to the being of a Church, as the preaching of the word and adminiſtration of the Sacraments; and ſo eſſential, that no Church could poſſibly ſubſiſt without it. For thus *Beza* in his Epiſtle unto *Cnoxe*, *Anno* 1572. *Magnum eſt Dei munus quod unam & religionem puram, & εὐταξίαν, (doctrinæ viz: retinendæ vinculum) in Scotiam intuliſtis. Sic obſecro & obteſtor, hæc duo* ſimul *retinete, ut uno amiſſo alterum diu permanere non poſſe, ſemper memineritis.* So he *Epiſt.* 79. According unto which Doctrine Mr. *Dela-Marſhe*, in his new Catechiſm, which lately by the authority of the *Colloquie*, he impoſed upon the Churches in the Iſle of *Guernzy*: hath joyned this *holy Diſcipline*, as a chief note, together with the others.

Chap. 12. 9. *That it be no longer ſolemnized upon the Sunday*] Wherein (ſo ſcarcely did the ſame Spirit rule them both) the *Dutch Synodiſts* have ſhewed themſelves more moderate, then theſe contrivers, they having licenſed marriage on all daies equally; except ſuch as are deſtinate to the *Lords Supper*, and to *ſolemn faſts*; *Quovis die matrimonia confirmari & celebrari poterunt, modo concio ad populum habeatur: exceptis cœnæ diebus, & jejunio ſacratis.* Cap. ult. art. 8. By both of them it is agreed that marriage be celebrated on ſuch daies only, on which there is a Sermon: and if the Sermon be any thing to the purpoſe, I am content they ſhould expect it. Only I needs muſt note with what little reaſon theſe men and their abettors have ſo often quarrelled our Church, for the reſtraint of marriage, at ſome certain ſeaſons: whereas they think it fit, at ſome times to reſtrain it in their own. Well

fare

fare therefore our neighbours of the Church of *Scotland*: men very indifferent both for the time, and for the place. For the time; *Nullum tempus tam ſacrum quod ejus celebratione polluatur*: and for the place, *immo & in prætorio vel quovis loco publico--&c. & extra ſacra & publicum conventum totius eccleſiæ.* So they, that made the *Altare Damaſcenum.* p. 872. 865. 866.

Chap. 14. 1. *The Corps ſhall not be carried or interred within the Church*] Which prohibition, whether it hath more in it of the *Jew* or of the *Gentile*, is not eaſie to determine. Amongſt the *Jewes* it was not lawful for the Prieſt to be preſent at a Funeral; or for the dead corps to be interred within the camp: and on the other ſide, it was by law in *Athens* and in *Rome* forbidden, either to burn their dead, or to bury them within their Cities. In *urbe ne ſepelito neve urito*, ſaith the Law of the 12 *Tables*; nor do I ſee for what cauſe this generation ſhould prohibit the dead bodies entrance into the Church, and to permit it in the Church-yards. If for the avoiding of ſuperſtition, it is well known that not the Church only, but the Church-yards are alſo conſecrated. The reaſon why they will not bury in the Church is only their deſire and love of *parity*; the Church will hardly be capacious enough to bury all: and ſince by death and nature all are equall, why ſhould that honour be vouchſafed unto the rich, and not unto the poor? Out of this love of *parity* it is, that in the next article, they have forbidden *Funeral Sermons*; wherein the *Dutch Synods*, and thoſe men moſt perfectly concur; as appeareth in that collection, cap. 11. 5. For if ſuch Sermons be permitted, the common people will be forſooth aggrieved, and think themſelves neglected: *Ditiores enim hoc officio cohoneſtabuntur, neglectis pauperibus.*

Chap. 14. 2. *Nor any prayers, nor ſound of bell*] The laſt for love of *parity*; but this for fear of ſuperſtition. For prayers at the burial of the dead, may poſſibly be miſtook, for prayers for the dead; and ſo the world may dream perhaps of *Purgatory*. The ſilencing of bels is ſomewhat juſter, becauſe that muſick hath been ſuperſtitiouſly and fooliſhly

imployed in former times, and in this very caſe at Funerals. It is well known with what variety of ceremonies they were baptized and conſecrated (as in the Church of *Rome* they ſtill are) by the Biſhops. Whereby the people did conceive a power inherent in them, not only for the ſcattering of tempeſts, in which caſes they are alſo rung amongſt them: but for the repulſing of the *Devil* and his Miniſters. Bleſſings which are intreated of the Lord for them, as appeareth by one of thoſe many prayers, preſcribed in that form of *conſecration*; by the *Roman Pontifical*, *viz. ut per factum illorum procul pellantur omnes inſidiæ inimici, fragor grandinum, procella turbinum, &c.* Whileſt therefore the people was ſuperſtitious in the uſe of *bels*, the reſtraint of them was allowable: but being now a matter only of ſolemnity, it argueth no little ſuperſtition to reſtrain them.

Chap. 16. 6. *Without encroaching on the civil juriſdiction*] And well indeed it were, if this clauſe were intended to be obſerved: for in the 17. chap. and 8. art. it is decreed, that the correction of crimes and ſcandals appertaineth unto the *Conſiſtory*. What ſtore of griſt, the word *Crime*, will bring unto their mils, I leave unto your Lordſhip to interpret: ſure I am, that by this of *ſcandal*, they draw almoſt all cauſes within their cognizance. A matter teſtified by his late moſt excellent Majeſty in a Remonſtrance to the Parliament: *viz.* that the *Puritan* Miniſters in *Scotland* had brought all cauſes within their juriſdiction; ſaying, that it was the Churches office to judge of *ſcandal*, and there could be no kinde of fault or crime committed, but there was a *ſcandal* in it, either againſt God, the King, or their neighbour. Two inſtances of this, that counterfeit *Euſebius*, *Philadelphus* in his late Pamphlet againſt my Lord of St. *Andrewes*, doth freely give us. Earl *Huntley* upon a private quarrel had inhumanely killed the Earl of *Murray*. For this offence his Majeſty upon a great ſuit, was content to grant his pardon: *Eccleſia tamen Huntilæum juſſit ſub dirorum pœnis, eccleſiæ ſatisfacere*; but yet the Church (in relation to the *ſcandall*) commanded him under the pain

of

of *Excommunication*, to do penance. Not long after the ſaid Earl *Huntly* and others of the *Romiſh faction*, had enterpriſed againſt the peace and ſafety of the Kingdome. The King reſolved to pardon them for this alſo: *Eccleſia autem excommunicationis cenſura pronuntiavit*: but the Church pronounced againſt them the dreadful ſentence of *Anathema*; ſo little uſe is there of the civil Magiſtrate, when once the Church pretends a *ſcandal*.

Chap. 17. 9. *And ſhall adjure the parties in the Name of God*] And ſhall *adjure*, *i. e.* They ſhall *provoke* them, or induce them to confeſſion, by uſing or interpoſing of the Name of God: for thus *adjuration* is defined to us by *Aquinas* Secunda ſecundæ qu. 9. in Axiom. *Adjurare, nihil aliud eſt* (ſaith he) *niſi creaturam aliquam divini nominis, aut alterius cujuſpiam ſacræ rei interpoſitione, ad agendum aliquid impellere:* the parties, and thoſe not ſuch as give in the informations, for that is done in private by the *Elders*: but ſuch of whoſe ill fame intelligence is given unto the *Conſiſtory*. If ſo, then would I fain demand of the contrivers, with what reaſon they ſo much exclaim againſt the oath *ex officio judicis*, uſed by our Prelates in their *Chancellaries*: ſince they themſelves allow it in their *Conſiſtories*. But thus of old, as it is in *Horace, de Arte*.

Cæſilio Plautoq; dedit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio Varioque.

Concluſ. *They are adjudged to be immutable*] And no marvail, if as the brethren and their *Beza* think, it be ſo eſſential to the Church, that no Church can poſſibly ſubſiſt without it: if ſo eſſential, that we may as warrantably deny the written Word, as theſe inventions. But certainly, what ever theſe think of it; the founder of this plat-form thought not ſo: when thus he was per-

perſwaded, that the ordering of the Church of God, for as much as concernes the form of it, was left to the diſcretion of the Miniſters. For thus himſelf in his Epiſtle ad *Neocomenſes*, dated 1544. *viz. Subſtantiam diſciplinæ eccleſiæ exprimit diſertis verbis Scriptura: forma autem ejus exercendæ, quoniam a Domino præſcripta non eſt, a miniſtris conſtitui debet pro ædificatione.* Thus he: and how dare they controll him? Will they alſo dare to teach their Maſter?

Thus have I brought to end thoſe Annotations, which I counted moſt convenient, for to expreſſe their meaning in ſome few paſſages of this new plat-form; and to exemplifie their proceedings. A larger Commentary on this Text had been unneceſſary: conſidering both of what I write, and unto whom. Only I needs muſt note, that as the erecting of theſe fabricks in theſe Iſlands was founded on the ruine of the *Deanries*: ſo had the birth of this device in *England* been death unto the Biſhopricks. No wonder then if thoſe which principally manage the affairs of *holy Church*, ſo buſily beſtir themſelves in the deſtroying of this viper: which by no other means can come into the world, then by the death and ruine of his mother. Yet ſo it is, I know not whether by deſtiny, or ſome other means; I would not think; but ſo it is: that much of this new plat-form hath of late found favour with us; and may in time make entrance to the reſt. Their Lecturers permitted in ſo many places, what are they, but the *Doctors* of *Geneva*? ſave only that they are more factious and ſuſtain a party. And what the purpoſe and deſign of this, but ſo by degrees to leſſen the repute of ſuch daies as are appointed *holy* by the Church; and faſten all opinion to their daies of preaching? By whoſe authority ſtand the *Churchwardens* at the Temple doo[r] (as I have ſeen it oft in *London*) to collect the bounty of the hearers: but only by ſome of their appointments, who finde that duty (or the like) preſcribed here unto the *Deacons*, cap. 1. 2.

I

I could ſay ſomewhat alſo of our *ordinary Faſts*, how much they are neglected every where: and no Faſt now approved of, but the *ſolemn*. Nay we have ſuffered it of late to get that ground upon us; in the practiſe at the leaſt: that now no common buſineſſe muſt begin without it. Too many ſuch as theſe I fear, I could point out unto your Lordſhip, did I not think that theſe already noted were too many. A matter certainly worthy of your Lordſhips care, and of the care of thoſe your Lordſhips partners in the *Hierarchie*: that as you ſuffer not theſe new *inventions*, to uſurp upon our Churches by violence; ſo that they neither grow upon us, by cunning or connivence.

Chap. VI.

(1) *King* James *how affected to this Platform.* (2) *He confirmes the* Diſcipline *in both Iſlands.* (3) *And for what reaſons.* (4) *Sir* John Peyton *ſent Governour into* Jarzey. (5) *His Articles againſt the Miniſters there.* (6) *And the proceedings thereupon.* (7) *The diſtracted eſtate of the Church and Miniſtery in that Iſland.* (8) *They referre themſelves unto the King.* (9) *The Inhabitants of* Jarzey *petition for the* Engliſh Diſcipline. (10) *A reference of both parties to the Councell.* (11) *The reſtitution of the* Dean. (12) *The* Interim *of* Germanie *what it was.* (13) *The* Interim *of* Jarzey. (14) *The exceptions of the Miniſtery againſt the Book of* Common-prayer. (15) *The eſtabliſhment of the new* Canons.

IN this ſtate and under this Government continued thoſe Iſlands till the happy entrance of King *James* upon the Monarchy of *England*. A Prince of whom the brethren conceived no ſmall hopes, as one that had continually been brought up by and amongſt thoſe of that faction: and had ſo oft confirmed their much deſired *Presbyteries*. But when once he had ſet foot in *England*, where he was ſure to meet with quiet men, and more obedience: he quickly made them ſee, that of his favour to that party, they had made themſelves too large a promiſe. For in the conference at *Hampton Court*, he publickly profeſſed, that howſoever he lived among *Puritans*, and was kept for the moſt part as a ward under them; yet ever ſince he was of the age of ten years

years old, he ever disliked their opinions: and as the *Saviour of the world* had said, *though he lived among them, he was not of them.* In this conference also, that so memorized *Apophthegm* of his Majesty: *No Bishop*, no King: and anon after, My Lords the Bishops (saith he) *I may thank ye, that these men* (the *Puritans*) *plead thus for my Supremacy.* Add to this, that his Majesty had alwaies fostred in himself a pious purpose, not only of reducing all his Realms and Dominions into one uniform order and course of discipline; which thing himself avoweth, in his Letters Patents unto those of *Jarzey*: but also to establish in all the reformed Churches, if possibly it might be done; together with unity of Religion, and uniformity of devotion. For which cause he had commanded the *English Liturgie* to be translated into the *Latine*, and also into most of the national Languages round about us: by that and other more private means, to bring them into a love and good opinion of our Government: which he oftentimes acknowledged to *have been approved by manifold blessings from God himself.* A heroick purpose, and worthy of the Prince from whom it came.

This notwithstanding, that he was enclined the other way; yet upon suit made by those of these Islands, he confirmed unto them their present orders, by a Letter under his private Seal, dated the 8. of *August* in the first year of his reign in *England*; which Letters were communicated in the Synod at St. *Hilaries* the 18. of *September*, 1605. the Letter written in the *French* Tongue; but the tenor of them was as followeth:

"*James* by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, "*France* and *Ireland*, &c. unto all those whom these pre- "sents shall concern, greeting: Whereas we our selves and "the Lords of our Councell have been given to understand, "that it pleased God to put it into the heart of the late "Queen our most dear sister, to permit and allow unto the "Isles of *Jarzey* and *Guernsey* parcel of our *Dutchy* of *Norman-* "*dy*, the use of the Government of the *reformed Churches* in "the said *Dutchy*, whereof they have stood possessed until our "coming to this Crown: for this couse we desiring to fol-

"low the pious example of our said Sister in this behalf, as "well for the advancement of the glory of Almighty God, "as for the edification of his Church; do will, and ordain, "that our said Isles shall quietly enjoy their said liberty in "the use of the *Ecclesiastical Discipline* there now established: "forbidding any one to give them any trouble or impeach-"ment, as long as they contain themselves in our obedience, "and attempt not any thing against the pure and sacred "Word of God. Given at our Palace at *Hampton Court* the "8. day of *August*, *Anno Dom.* 1603. and of our reign in "*England* the first.

Signed above *James R.*

The reasons which moved this Prince to assent unto a form of Government, which he liked not; was partly an ancient rule and precept of his own, *viz.* That *Princes at their first entrance to a Crown ought not to innovate the government presently established.* But the principal cause indeed, was desire not to discourage the *Scots* in their beginnings: or to lay open too much of his intents at once unto them. For since the year 1595. his Majesty wearied with the confusions of the *Discipline* in that Church established; had much busied himself in restoring their antient place and power unto the Bishops. He had already brought that work so forwards, that the *Scottish Ministers* had admitted of 13 Commissioners (which was the antient number of the Bishops) to have suffrage in the *Parliament*; and to represent in that Assembly the body of the Clergy: and that their place should be perpetual. Thus far with some trouble, but much art, he had prevailed on that unquiet and unruly company: and therefore had he denied the Islanders an allowance of their *Discipline*; he had only taught the *Scottish Ministery* what to trust to. An allowance whereof he after made especial use in his proceedings with that people. For thus his Majesty in a Declaration concerning such of the *Scottish Ministers*, as lay attainted of High Treason, *Anno* 1606. *viz.* "And as we have "ever regarded carefully how convenient it is to maintain "every Countrey in that form of Government which is "fittest and can best agree with the constitution thereof;

"and

"and how dangerous alterations are without good advice "and mature deliberation; and that even in matters of or- "der of the Church, in some small Island under our Do- "minions, we have abstained from suffering any alterati- "on; So we doubt not,&c as it there followeth in the words "of the Declaration.

On these reasons, or on some other not within the power of my conjecture; this Discipline was permitted in these Islands: though long it did not continue with them. For presently upon his Majesties comming to the Crown, Sir *Walter Raleigh* then Governor of *Jarzey* was attaint of Treason: on which attaindure this with others of his places, fell actually into the Kings disposing: upon this variancy, it pleased his Majesty to depute the present Governor Sir *John Peiton*, to that office: A Gentleman not over forward in himself, to pursue the projects of the *Powlets* his predecessors, (for Sir *W. Raleigh* had but a little while possessed the place) and it may well be furnished also with some secret instructions from the King, not to be too indulgent to that party. Whether that so it was or not, I cannot say: Sure I am that he omitted no opportunity of abating in the *Consistorians* the pride and stomach of their jurisdiction. But long it was not before he found a fit occasion to place his battery against those works; which in the Island there they thought impregnable. For as in the ancient proverb, *Facile est invenire baculum ut cædas canem*: it is an easie thing to quarrell one, whom before hand we are resolved to baffle. The occasion this. The Curate of S. *Johns* being lately dead, it pleased the *Colloquie* of that Island, according to their former method; to appoint one *Brevin* to succeed him: against which course, the Governor, the Kings Attorney and other the officers of the Crown protested; as prejudicial to the rights and profits of the King. Howbeit, the case was over-ruled; and the *Colloquie* for that time carried it: hereupon a bill of Articles was exhibited unto the Councel against the Ministers, by *Peiton* the Governor, *Marret* the Attorney, *now one* of the Jurates, and the rest: as *viz.* that they had usurped the *Patronage* of all benefices in the Island; that thereby they admitted men to

livings without any form of presentation; that thereby they deprived his Majesty of Vacancies and first-fruits; that by connivence (to say no worse of it) of the former Governors, they exercised a kinde of arbitrary jurisdiction, making and disannulling lawes at their own uncertain liberty; whereupon they most humbly besought his Majesty to grant them such a discipline, as might be fittest to the nature of the place, and lesse derogatory to the Royal *Prerogative*.

This Bill exhibited unto the Councell, found there such approbation, that presently Sir *Robert Gardiner*, once chief Justice, (as I take it) in the *Realm of Ireland*; and *James Hussey* Doctor of the Lawes; though not without some former businesse; were sent into the Islands. Against their coming into *Jarzey*, the Ministers of that Island had prepared their Answer; which in the general may be reduced to these two heads; *viz.* That their appointment of men into the Ministery, and the exercise of Jurisdiction being principal parts of the Church Discipline; had been confirmed unto them by his Majesty. And for the matter of First-fruits, it was a payment which had never been exacted from them; since their discharge from him at *Constance*; unto whom in former times they had been due. Upon this answer the businesse was again remitted unto the King, and to his Councell; by them to be determined upon the comming of their Deputies: the Committees not having (as they said) a power to determine it; but only to instruct themselves in the whole cause, and accordingly to make report. Other matters within the compasse of their Commission, and about which they were said principally to be sent over, were then concluded: all which hapned in the year 1608. Immediately upon the departure of these Commissioners; and long before their Deputies had any faculty to repair unto the Court: a foul deformity of confusion and distraction had overgrown the Church and *Discipline*. In former times all such as took upon them any publick charge either in Church or Common-wealth, had bound themselves by oath to cherish and maintain the *Discipline*: that oath is now disclaimed as dangerous and unwarrantable. Before it was their custome

ſtome to exact *ſubſcripti n* to their platform, of all ſuch as purpoſed to receive the *Sacrament*: but now the Kings *Attorney*, and others of that party, choſe rather to abſtain from the Communion; nay even the very *Elders*, ſilly ſouls, that thought themſelves as *Sacroſancti* as a *Roman Tribune*: were drawn with proces into the civil courts; and there reputed with the vulgar. Nor was the caſe much better with the *Conſiſtory*: the *Jurates* in their *Cohu* or Town-hall, relieving ſuch by their authority, whom that *Tribunal* had condemned or cenſured. *A pravis ad præcipitia.* Such is the inhumanity of the world, that when once a man is caſt upon his knees, every one lends a hand to lay him proſtrate. No ſooner had thoſe of the lower rank, obſerved the Miniſters to ſtagger in their chairs; but they inſtantly begin to wrangle for the Tithes: and if the Curate will exact his due; the Law is open, let them try the Title. Their Benefices, where before accounted as excempt and priviledged, are brought to reckon for *firſt fruits* and *tenths*: and thoſe not rated by the book of *Conſtance*, but by the will and pleaſure of the Governor. Adde unto this, that one of the *Conſtables* preferred a Bill againſt them in the *Cohu*: wherein the Miniſters themſelves were *indicted* of *hypocriſie*; and their government of *tyranny*. And which of all the reſt was the greateſt of their miſeries; it was objected that they held ſecret meetings and private practiſes againſt the Governor: yea ſuch as reflected alſo on the King.

In this confuſion and diſtreſſe they were almoſt uncapable of counſel. They applyed themſelves in the next *Colloquie* unto the Governor, that he would pleaſe to intercede for them to his Majeſty: but him they had ſo far exaſperated by their clamours, that he utterly refuſed to meddle for them. Nor did the Miniſters, as I conjecture, propound it farther to him, then by way of due reſpect: as little hoping that he ſhould bend himſelf for their relief; whom they ſo often had accuſed to be the cauſe of all this trouble. At laſt they are reſolved to caſt themſelves upon the grace and favour of the King; and for that cauſe addreſſed themſelves and their deſires unto the Earl of *Salisbury*, a man, at that time of ſpecial credit with the King, being alſo *Lord High*

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Treasurer, and chief Secretary. This their addresse as he took in special good regard; so did he also seem to advise them for the best: his counsel, that they should joyn unto them those of *Guernzey*, in the perusing of their *Discipline*, and the correcting of such things most stomacked by the Civil Magistrates: and after, both together to refer themselves unto his Majesty. A counsel not to be despised in the appearance: but yet (as certainly he was of a fine and subtil wit) of exceeding cunning. For by this means the businesse not yet ripe, and the King scarce master of his purposes in *Scotland*; he gains time farther to consider of the main: and by ingaging those of *Guernzey* in the cause, they also had been subject to the same conclusion: But subtil as he was, he found no art to protract the fatal and inevitable blow of death; for whilest his Clients busily pursued this project, in reviewing of their platform, he yeelded up himself unto the grave, *March* 24. *anno* 1612. upon report whereof, they layed by the prosecution of that businesse; referring of it to the mercy of some better times.

This comfort yet they found in their addresse unto the Court, that things at home were carried on in a more fair and quiet course: but long they would not suffer themselves to enjoy that happinesse. The Parish of S. *Peters* being void, *Messerny* was presented to it by the Governour: one that had spent his time in *Oxenford*, and had received the Orders of the Priesthood from the Right Reverend Doctor *Bridges*, then Bishop of that Diocesse. A matter so infinitely stomacked by the *Colloquie*, that they would by no means yeeld to his admission: not so much because of his presentation from the Governor, as of his ordination from the Bishop. For now they thought *Annibalem ad portas*, that Popery began again to creep upon them: and therefore they resolved to fight it out, *tanquam de summa rerum*, as if the whole cause of Religion were in danger. *Messerny* howsoever enjoyed the profits of the living; and a new complaint was made against them to the Councel: In which complaint, there also was intelligence given unto their Lordships, that the inhabitants generally of the Isle, were discontented with the *Discipline* and guidance of the Church:

Church: and that the most of them would easily admit the form of *English* Government; that some of them did desire it. The matter thus grown ready for an issue, and his Majesty desirous to bring all things to the most peaceable and quiet end; both parties were commanded to attend at Court: the Governor and secular states, to prosecute their suit, and make good their intelligence; the Ministers to answer the complaints, and tender their proposals. Hereupon the Governor and those of the laity delegated to the Court, *Marret* the *Attorney*, and *Messervy* the new Parson of St. *Peters*: by whom the people sent a formal Petition to his Majesty, signed by many of their hands; and to this purpose, *viz.* that he would be pleased to establish in their Island, the book of Common-prayers; and to settle there among them some Ecclesiastical Officer, with *Episcopal* jurisdiction. On the other side, there were deputed, for the Ministers, Mr. *Bandinell*, the now Dean; *Oliveis*, the now Sub-dean; *Effart*, the Curate of St. *Saviours*; and *De la place*, then Curate of St. *Maries*. To whom this also was specially given in charge, that with all industry they should oppose whatsoever innovation (as they called it) might be proposed unto them: and resolutely bear up for the present *Discipline*.

Immediately upon their appearance at the Court, both parties by his Majesty were referred to the Council: and by them again to my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Zouche*, and Sir *John Herbert*, then principal Secretary. Before them the cause was privately argued by the Deputies of both parties: and the desires of the Governor and of the people, constantly impugned by the Ministers. But as it alwaies hapneth that there is no confederacy so well joyned, but one member of it may be severed from the rest; and thereby the whole practise overthrown: so was it also in this businesse. For those which there sollicited some private businesse of the Governors, had finely wrought upon the weakness or ambition of *De la place*; bearing him in hand, that if the Government of the Church were altered, and the office of the Dean restored; he was for certain

reſolved upon to be the man. Being faſhioned into this hope, he ſpeedily betrayed the counſels of his fellowes; and furniſhed their opponents at all their enterviews, with ſuch intelligence as might make moſt for their advantage. At laſt the Miniſters not well agreeing in their own demands, and having little to ſay in the defence of their proper cauſe, whereto their anſwers were not provided beforehand; my Lord of *Canterbury* at the Councel-table thus declared unto them the pleaſure of the King and Councell: *viz.* that for the ſpeedy redreſſe of their diſorders, it was reputed moſt convenient to eſtabliſh among them, the authority and office of the Dean; that the book of Common-prayer being again printed in the *French* ſhould be received into their Churches; but the Miniſters not tyed to the ſtrict obſervance of it in all particulars: that *Meſſerny* ſhould be admitted to his benefice; and that ſo they might return unto their charges.

This ſaid, they were commanded to depart, and to ſignifie to thoſe from whom the came, they full ſcope of his Majeſties reſolution; and ſo they did. Bnt being ſomewhat backward in obeying this decree, the Councel intimated to them by Sir *Phil. de Carteret* their Agent for the Eſtates of the Iſland; that the Miniſters from among themſelves, ſhould make choice of three learned and grave perſons, whoſe names they ſhould return unto the board: out of which his Majeſty would reſolve on one to be their Dean. A propoſition which found among them little entertainment. Not ſo much out of diſlike unto the dignity, for they were moſt of them well contented with the change: but becauſe every one of them conceived hopefully of himſelf to be the man, and all of them could not be elected; they were not willing to prejudice their own hopes, by the naming of another. In the mean time, Mr. *David Bandinell* then Curate of St. *Maries*, either having or pretending ſome buſineſſe unto *London*; was recommended by the Governor as a man moſt fit to ſuſtain that place and dignity. And being alſo approved by my Lord of *Canterbury* (as certainly he is a man of good abilities)

as

as a perſon anſwerable to the Governors commendations; he was eſtabliſhed in that office by Letters Patents from his Majeſty, dated the 8. of *March*, *anno* 1619. and was inveſted with all ſuch rights as formerly had been inherent in that dignity: and that both in point of profit; and alſo in point of juriſdiction. For whereas formerly the Dean was ſetled in the beſt benefice in the Iſland, that *viz.* of St *Martins*; and had divers portions of tithes out of every of the Pariſhes: the ſaid St. *Martins* was allotted to him, upon the next avoidance; aud the whole tithes of St. *Saviours* allowed him, in conſideration of his ſeveral parcels. And whereas alſo at the ſuppreſſion of the *Deanry*, the Governor had taken into his hands the probate of Teſtaments, and appointed unto civil Courts the cognizance of Matrimoniall cauſes and of tithes: all theſe again were reſtored unto him, and forever united to this office.

For the executing of this place, there were ſome certain Articles, or rather Canons drawn and ratified to be in force till a perfect draught of Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions could be agreed on: which it pleaſed his Majeſty to call the *Interim*. And this he did in imitation of *Charles* the 5. which Prince, deſirous to eſtabliſh peace and quietneſſe in the Church of *Germany*; and little hoping that any Councel would be ſummoned ſoon enough to determine of the differences then on foot: compoſed a certain mixture of opinions, in favour of each party; which he endevoured to obtrude upon that people: the compilers of it, *Julius Pflugius*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Iſlebius*: the time when, *anno* 1594. the name of it the *Interim*: a name given unto it by the Emperor, *eo quod præſcriberet formulam doctrinæ & ceremoniarum in religione* in terra *tenendam*, quoad *de univerſa re religionis concilio publico definitum eſſet*: ſo the hiſtorian of the Councell. In like manner, did it pleaſe his Majeſty as himſelf tels us in the next chapter: "in the *interim*, *untill* he "mought be fully informed what Lawes, &c. were meet and "fit to be eſtabliſhed for the good government of the ſaid "Iſland in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, &c. to grant commiſſion, &c. "to exerciſe the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction there according

"to certaid inſtructions ſigned with our royal hand, to con-
"tinue only untill we might eſtabliſh, &c. as it followeth in the Original. By this *Interim* there was a clauſe in force, whereby it was permitted to the Miniſters not to bid holydaies, or uſe the Croſſe in Baptiſm, or wear the Surplice, or to exact it of the people that they kneel at the Communion. In other matters it little differed from the Canons afterwards eſtabliſhed, and now in being in that Iſland.

Thus fortified with power, and furniſhed with inſtructions, home cometh the new *Dean* into his Countrey: and in a frequent aſſembly of the *three Eſtates*, takes full poſſeſſion of his place, and office. Nor found he any oppoſition, till he began to exerciſe his Juriſdiction; At what time Sir *John Herault*, then *Bayliffe* of the Iſland, and to whom his Majeſty had given the title of St. *Saviour*; not pleaſed to ſee ſo many cauſes drawn from his *Tribunal*, made head againſt him. But this diſguſt was quickly over-blown; and the Bailiffe for four years ſuſpended by his Majeſty from the executing of his office. This done, his fellow Miniſters were called together, and he imparted unto them his inſtructions. All of them ſeeming well contented with the Juriſdiction (*De la place* excepted) who much impatient (as commonly the miſcarrying of our hopes as much torments us, as the loſſe of a poſſeſſion) to ſee himſelf deluded, forſook the Countrey. But to the *Liturgie* they thought they had no cauſe to give admiſſion; nay that they had good cauſe unto the contrary: *viz.* as not being deſired by them in their addreſſe; and having been for fifty years at leaſt a ſtranger in the Iſlands: a thing alſo much ſtomacked and oppoſed by many learned men in *England*; and not impoſed as yet upon the *Scots*, which people in ſo many other particulars, had been brought unto conformity with the *Engliſh*. In the end, having ſix moneths allowed them to deliberate, *frangi pertinaciam ſuam paſſi ſunt*; they were content to bend and yeeld unto it, upon ſuch qualifications of it, as in the inſtructions were permitted. A duty careleſly diſcharged and as it were by halfs, by many of them;

them; those *viz* of the ancient breed, which have so been wedded to a voluntary frame and fabrick of devotion: but punctually observed by those of the lesser standing, as having good acquaintance with it here in *England*; and not possessed with any contrary opinion, whereby it might be prejudiced. And now there wanted nothing to perfect the intentions of his Majesty; and to restore unto the Island, the ancient face and being of a Church: but only that the *Policy* thereof was something temporary and not yet established in the rule and Canon. But long it was not, ere this also was effected: and a fixt Law prescribed of Government *Ecclesiastical*. Which what it is, by what means it was agreed on, how crossed, and how established; his Majesties own Letters Patents can best instruct us: and to them wholly I referre the honour of the relation.

Chap. VII.

The Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall for the Church Diſcipline of Jarſey: *together with the Kings Letters Patents for the authoriſing of the ſame.*

"JAMES by the grace of God King of *England, Scot-*
"*land, France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, *&c.*
"To our right truſty and well beloved Counſeller
"the reverend father in God *Lancelot* Biſhop of *Winton*, and
"to our truſty and well beloved Sir *John Peyton* Knight,
"Governour of the Iſle of *Jarſey*; and to the Governour
"of the ſaid Iſle for the time being, and to the *Bailiffe* and
"*Jurates* of the ſaid Iſle for the time being; to whom it
"ſhall or may appertain, Greeting. Whereas we held it
"fitting heretofore upon the admiſſion of the now *Dean* of
"that Iſland unto his place, in the *interim*, untill we might
"be fully informed what Lawes, Canons, or Conſtitutions
"were meet and fit to be made and eſtabliſhed for the good
"government of the Iſland in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, appertai-
"ning to Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction; to command the ſaid
"Biſhop of *Winton*, Ordinary of the ſaid Iſland to grant
"his Commiſſion unto *David Bandinell* now *Dean* of the ſame
"Iſland, to exerciſe the *Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction* there accor-
"ding to certain inſtructions ſigned with our royall hand,
"to continue only till we might eſtabliſh ſuch Conſtituti-
"ons, Rules, Canons and Ordinances, as we intended to
"ſettle for the regular government of that our Iſland in all
"Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, conformed to the Eccleſiaſticall go-
"vernment eſtabliſhed in our Realm of *England*, as near as
"conveniently might be. And whereas alſo to that our pur-
"poſe

"poſe and pleaſure was, that the ſaid *Dean* with what con-
"venient ſpeed he might, after ſuch authority given unto
"him as aforeſaid, and after his arrivall into that Iſland,
"and the publick notice given of that his admiſſion unto
"the ſaid office, ſhould together with the Miniſters of this
"our Iſland, conſider of ſuch Canons and Conſtitutions as
"might be fitly accomodated to the circumſtances of time, and
"place, and perſons whom they concern; and that the ſame
"ſhould be put in good order, and intimated by the *Gover-*
"*nour*, *Bailiffe* and *Jurates* of that our Iſland; that they
"might offer to us and our Councell ſuch acceptions, and
"give ſuch reformations touching the ſame, as they ſhould
"think good. And whereas the ſaid *Dean* and Miniſters
"did conceive certain Canons, and preſented the ſame un-
"to us on the one part, and on the other part the ſaid
"*Bailiffe* and *Jurates* excepting againſt the ſame, did ſend
"and depute Sir *Philip de Carteret* Knight, *Joſhuah de Carte-*
"*ret* and *Philip de Carteret* Eſquires, three of the *Jurates* and
"Juſtices of our ſaid Iſle; all which parties appeared before
"our right truſty and well beloved Counſellers, the moſt
"reverend father in God the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,
"the Right reverend father in God the Lord Biſhop of
"*Lincolne* Lord Keeper of the Geat Seal of *England*, and the
"Right reverend father in God the ſaid Lord Biſhop of
"*Winton*, to whom we granted commiſſion to examine the
"ſame; who have have accordingly heard the ſaid parties
"at large, read and examined, corrected and amended the
"ſaid Canons, and have now made report unto us under
"their hands, that by a mutuall conſent of the ſaid De-
"puties and *Dean* of our Iſland, they have reduced the ſaid
"Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, into ſuch order,
"as in their judgements may well ſtand with the eſtate of
"that Iſland.

"Know ye therefore, that we out of our Princely care
"of the quiet and peaceable government of all our Domi-
"nions, eſpecialy affecting the peace of the Church, and the
"eſtabliſhment of true Religion, and *Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline*,
"in one uniforme order and courſe throughout all our
"Realms and Dominions, ſo happily united under us as

"their

"their Supreme Governor on earth in all cauſes, as well "Eccleſiaſticall as Civill: Having taken conſideration of "the ſaid Canons and Conſtitutions thus drawn as afore-"ſaid, do by theſe deputies ratifie, confirme and approve "thereof.

"And farther, we out of our Princely power and regall "authority, do by theſe Patents ſigned and ſealed with our "royall Signet, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, will with "our royall hand, and command that theſe Canons and "Conſtitutions hereafter following, ſhall from henceforth "in all points be duly obſerved in our ſaid Iſle, for the "perpetuall government of the ſaid Iſle in cauſes Eccleſiaſti-"call; unleſſe the ſame, or ſome part or parts thereof, "upon further experience and tryall thereof by the mutuall "conſent of the Lord Biſhop of *Winton* for the time being, "the *Governour*, *Bailiffs* and *Jurates* of the ſaid Iſle, and of the "*Dean*, and *Miniſters*, and other our Officers in the ſaid Iſle "for the time being, repreſenting the body of our ſaid Iſle, "and by the royall authority of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors "ſhall receive any additions or alterations as time and occa-"ſion ſhall juſtly require. And therefore we do farther will "and command the ſaid Right reverend father in God *Lance-"lot* now Lord Biſhop of *Winton*, that he do forthwith, by "his Commiſſion under his Epiſcopall ſeal, as *Ordinary* of "the place, give authority unto the ſaid now *Dean* to exer-"ciſe *Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction* in our ſaid Iſle, according to "the ſaid Canons and Conſtitutions thus made and eſtabli-"ſhed, as followeth.

Canons

Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, treated, agreed on, and established for the Isle of *Jarsey*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kings Supremacy, *and of the Church.*

Article I.

1. AS our duty to the Kings most excellent Majesty requireth, it is first ordained, That the *Dean* and Ministers having care of souls, shall to the utmost of their power, knowledge and learning, purely and sincerely, without any backwardnesse or dissimulation, teach, publish and declare, as often as they may, and as occasion shall present it self; that all strange, usurped and forain power (for as much as it hath no gound by the law of God) is wholly, as for just and good causes taken away and abolished; and that therefore no manner of obedience or subjection within any of his Majesties Realms and Dominions, is due unto any such forain power; but that the Kings *power* within his Realms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and all other his Dominions and Countries, is the highest power under God, to whom all men, as well inhabitants, as born within the same, do by Gods Law owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other power and Potentates in the earth.

II.

2. Whosoever shall affirme and maintain that the Kings Majesty hath not the same authority in causes *Ecclesiasticall*, that the godly Princes had amongst the *Jews* and the *Christian Emperours* in the *Church primitive*, or shall impeach in any manner the said *Supremacy* in the said causes.

III. IV.

3. Alſo whoſoever ſhall affirme that the Church of *England* as it is eſtabliſhed under the Kings Majeſty is not a true and *Apoſtolicall* Church, purely teaching the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles. 4. Or ſhall impugne the Government of the ſaid Church by *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops* and *Deans*, affirming it to be *Antichriſtian*, ſhall be *ipſo facto* Excommunicated, and not reſtored but by the *Dean* ſitting in his Court, after his repentance and publick *recantation* of his errour.

CHAP. II.

Of Divine Service.

Article I.

1. IT is injoyned unto all ſorts of people that they ſubmit themſelves to the *Divine ſervice* contained in the book of *Common prayers* of the Church of *England*. And for as much as concerns the Miniſters, that they obſerve with uniformity the ſaid *Liturgie* without addition or alteration; and that they ſuffer not any *Conventicle* or *Congregation* to make a ſect apart by themſelves, or to diſtract the Government Eccleſiaſticall eſtabliſhed in the Church.

II.

2. The Lords day ſhall be ſanctified by the exerciſes of publick prayer, and the hearing of Gods word. Every one alſo ſhall be bounden to meet together at an hour convenient, and to obſerve the order and decency in that caſe requiſite; being attentive to the reading or preaching of the Word; kneeling on their knees during the Prayers, and ſtanding up at the Belief; and ſhall alſo teſtifie their conſent in ſaying *Amen*. And further, during any part of *Divine ſervice* the Church-wardens ſhall not ſuffer any interruption or impeachment to be made by the inſolence and practice of any perſon, either in the Church or Church-yard.

3. There

III.

3. There shall be publick exercise in every Parish on Wednesdays and Fridays in the morning, by reading the *Common prayers*.

IV.

4. When any urgent occasion shall require an extraordinary *Fast*, the *Dean* with the advice of his Ministers shall give notice of it to the *Governour* and Civill Magistrate; to the end, that by their authority and consent it may be generally observed, for the appeasing of the wrath and indignation of the Lord by true and serious repentance.

CHAP. III.

Of Baptism.

THe Sacrament of *Baptism* shall be administred in the Church with fair water according to the institution of *Jesus Christ*, and without the limitation of any dayes. No man shall delay the bringing of his child to *Baptism* longer then the next Sunday or publick Assembly, if it may conveniently be done. No person shall be admitted to be a Godfather, unlesse he hath received the Lords Supper; nor shall women alone (*viz.* without the presence of a man among them) be admitted to be Godmothers.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Lords Supper.

Article I.

1. THe *Lords Supper* shall be administred in every Church four times a year; whereof one to be at *Easter*, and the other at *Christmas*; and every Minister in the administration of it, shall receive the Sacrament himself, and after

give the Bread and wine to each of the *Communicants*, using the words of the *institution* of it.

II.

2. The Masters and Mistresses of Families shall be admonished and enjoyned to cause their children and Servants to be instructed in the knowledge of their salvation; and to this end shall take care to send them to the ordinary *Catechizing*.

CHAP. V.

Of Marriage.

Article I.

1. NO man shall *marry* contrary to the degrees prohibited in the word of God, according as they are expressed in a table made for that purpose in the Church of *England*, on pain of *nullity* and *censure*.

II.

2. The *Banes* of the parties shall be asked three Sundays successively in the Churches of both parties; and they of the Parish where the Marriage is not celebrated, shall bring an attestation of the bidding of their *Banes* in their own Parish. Nevertheless in lawfull cases there may be a *Licence* or dispensation of the said *Banes*, granted by the authority of the *Dean*, and that upon good caution taken, that the parties are at liberty.

III.

3. No separation shall be made *a thoro & mensa*, unless in case of Adultery, cruelty, and danger of life duly proved; and this at the sole instance of the parties. As for the maintenance of the woman during her divorce, he shall have recourse to the Secular power.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Miniſters.

Article I.

1. NO man that is unfit to teach, or not able to preach the word of God ſhall be admitted to any *Benefice* within the Iſle, or which hath not received *impoſition of hands*, and been ordained according to the forme uſed in the Church of *England*.

II.

2. None of them, either *Dean* or *Miniſter*, ſhall at the ſame time hold two *Benefices*, unleſſe it be in time of vacancy; and only the Natives of the Iſle ſhall be advanced to theſe preferments.

III.

3. The *Miniſters* every Sunday after morning prayer, ſhall expound ſome place of holy Scripture; and in the afternoon, ſhall handle ſome of the points of Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Catechiſm in the Book of Common-prayers.

IV.

4 In their Prayers they ſhall obſerve the titles due unto the King, acknowledging him the Supreme governour under *Chriſt*, in all cauſes, and over all perſons as well Eccleſiaſticall as Civill: recommending unto God the proſperity of his perſon and royall poſterity.

V.

5. Every *Miniſter* ſhall careſully regard that modeſty and gravity of apparell which belongs unto his function; and may preſerve the honour due unto his perſon; and ſhall be alſo circumſpect in the whole carriage of their lives to keep themſelves from ſuch company, actions and haunts,

which may bring unto them any blame or blemiſh. Nor ſhall they diſhonour their calling by Gaming, Alehouſes, Uſuries, guilds, or occupations not convenient for their function; but ſhall endevor to excell all others in purity of life, in gravity and virtue.

VI.

6. They ſhall keep careſully a Regiſter of Chriſtnings, Marriages and Burials, and ſhall duely publiſh upon the day appointed to them the Ordinances of the Courts, ſuch as are ſent unto them, ſigned by the *Dean*, and have been delivered to them fifteen dayes before the publication.

VII.

7. The *Miniſters* ſhall have notice in convenient time of ſuch *Funerals* as ſhall be in their Pariſhes; at which they ſhall aſſiſt, and ſhall obſerve the forme preſcribed in the book of Common-prayers. No man ſhall be interred within the Church, without the leave of the *Miniſter*, who ſhall have regard unto the quality and condition of the perſons, as alſo unto thoſe which are benefactours unto the Church.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Dean.

Article I.

1. THe *Dean* ſhall be a Miniſter of the word, being a Maſter of the Arts or Graduate at the leaſt in the Civill Lawes, having ability to exerciſe that office; of good life and converſation, as alſo well affected to Religion, and the ſervice of God.

II.

2. The *Dean* in all cauſes handled at the Court, ſhall demand

mand the advice and opinion of the Miniſters which ſhall then be preſent.

III.

3. There ſhall appertain unto him the cogniſance of all matters which concern the ſervice of God, the preaching of the Word, the adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*, *Matrimoniall* cauſes, the *examination* and cenſure of all *Papiſts*, *Recuſants*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, and *Schiſmaticks*, perſons perjured in cauſes *Eccleſiaſticall*; *Blaſphemers*, thoſe which have *recourſe* to *Wizards*, *inceſtuous perſons*, *Adulterers*, *Fornicators*, *ordinary drunkards*, and *publick profaners* of the *Lords day*; as alſo the profanation of the Churches and Church-yards, miſpriſions and offences committed in the Court, or againſt any officers thereof in the execution of the mandats of the Court; and alſo of Divorces and ſeparations *a thoro & menſa*; together with a power to cenſure and puniſh them according unto the Lawes Eccleſiaſticall, without any hindrance to the power of the Civill Magiſtrate in regard of temporall correction for the ſaid crimes.

IV.

4. The *Dean* accompanied with two or three of the Miniſters, once in two years ſhall viſite every Pariſh in his own perſon, and ſhall take order, that there be a Sermon every viſitation day, either by himſelf, or ſome other by him appointed. Which *Viſitation* ſhall be made for the ordering of all things appertaining to the Churches, in the ſervice of God, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments; as alſo that they be provided of *Church-wardens*, that the Church and Church-yards, and dwellings of the Miniſters be kept in reparations. And farther, he ſhall then receive information of the ſaid *Church-wardens*, or in their default of the Miniſters, of all offences and abuſes which need to be reformed; whether in the Miniſter, the officers of the Church, or any other of the Pariſh. And the ſaid *Dean* in lieu of the ſaid *viſitation*, ſhall receive 4 *s.* pay out of the Treaſures of the Church for every time.

5. In

V.

5. In the vacancy of any Benefice either by death or otherwiſe, the *Dean* ſhall give preſent order, that the profits of it be ſequeſtred; to the end, that out of the revenue of it, the Cure may be ſupplyed; as alſo that the widow and children of the deceaſed may be ſatisfied according to the time of his ſervice, and the cuſtome of the Iſle; excepting ſuch neceſſary deductions as muſt be made for *dilapidations* in caſe any be. He ſhall alſo give convenient time to the widow of the deceaſed, to provide her of an houſe, and ſhall diſpoſe the reſidue unto the next Incumbent; for which the Sequeſtrator ſhall be accomptant.

VI.

6. In the ſame caſe of vacancy, if within ſix months the Governour do not preſent a *Clerk* unto the Reverend father in God the Biſhop of *Winton*, or if that See be void, to the moſt Reverend father in God the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be admitted and inſtituted to the ſaid Benefice; then ſhall the *Dean* give notice of the time of the vacancy unto the ſaid Lords the Biſhop and Archbiſhop, whereby it is in the lapſe, that ſo it may be by them *collated*. And then if any one be offered to them, the *Dean* ſhall give a teſtimony of the Demeanure and ſufficiency of the party to be approved by them, before he put him into actuall poſſeſſion of the ſaid Benefice.

VII.

7. The *Dean* ſhall have the Regiſtring and *Probate* of *Teſtaments*; which be approved by the ſeal of his office, and afterwards enregiſtred. He ſhall alſo have the regiſtring of the Inventories of the moveable goods of *Orphanes*, which he ſhall carefully record, to give copies of them at all times, and as often as he is required. Alſo he ſhall give letters of adminiſtration of the goods of *Inteſtates*, dying without heirs of their body to the next of kindred.

8. They

VIII.

8. They which have the keeping of the Will, whether he be *Heir*, *Executor*, or any other, ſhall tranſcribe and bring it unto the *Dean* within one moneth; in default whereof he ſhall be brought by proceſſe into the Court, and be conſtrained to pay double charges. And the ſaid *Dean* for the ſaid *Teſtaments*, *Inventories* and Letters of adminiſtration, ſhall have ſuch fees, as are ſpecified in a Table for this purpoſe.

IX.

9. All *legacies* moveable, made unto the Church, the Miniſters, Schools, or to the poor, ſhall be of the cogniſance of the *Dean*, but upon any oppoſition made concerning the validity of the Will, the Civill Courts ſhall determine of it between parties.

X.

10. It ſhall appertain unto the *Dean* to take cogniſance of all detention of tithes conſecrated to the Church, of what kinde ſo ever they be, which have been payed unto the Miniſters, and which they have enjoyed or had in poſſeſſion for the ſpace of forty years; and every perſon convicted of withholding or fraudulently detaining the ſaid tithes, ſhall be adjudged to make reſtitution, and ſhall pay the coſt and charges of the party. And for the preſervation of all rights, tithes, rents, lands and poſſeſſions belonging to the Church, there ſhall be a *Terrice* made by the Bailiffe and Juſtices aſſiſted by the *Dean* and the Kings Atturney.

XI.

11. The *Dean* ſhall have alſo power to make a Deputy or *Commiſſary* which ſhall ſupply the place and office of the *Dean*, as far as his Commiſſion ſhall extend; whereof there ſhall be an *authentick* copy in the rails of the ſaid Court.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Overseers or Church wardens.

Article I.

1. THe next week after *Easter*, the Minister and people of every parish shall make choice of two to be *Church-wardens*, discreet men, of good life and understanding, able to read and write, if such may be had. But if the people cannot agree on such a choice, then shall the Minister name one and the Parishioners another, by the major part of their voices; which two shall be after sworn in the next Court, and there advertised of their duties.

II.

2. Their duty shall be to see that the Churches and Church-yards be not abused by any profane and unlawfull actions; as also not to suffer any *excommunicated* person to come into the Church, after the sentence hath been published in that Parish; they shall also carefully present from time to time those which neglect the publick exercises of Divine service, and the administration of the Sacraments; and generally all crimes of Ecclesiasticall cognisance; which said presentations they shall exhibite under their hands; nor shall they be constrained to present above twice a year.

III.

3. They shall have care particularly that the Churches be well repaired, and the Church-yard well fenced; and shall see that all things appertaining to the Church, the administration of the word and Sacraments, from time to time may be provided. As *viz.* a *Bible* of the best translation, and the largest letter; the book of *Common-prayers* both for the Minister, as also for the Clerk or Sexton of the Parish; one Parchment book to Register the Christnings, Marriages and Burials; a decent *Communion table*,

table, with a Carpet to cover it during Divine ſervice; the Fonts for *Baptiſm*, cups and veſſels dedicated to that uſe, together with a fair linnen cloth, and a coffer wherein to put the ſaid utenſils; alſo a trunk or cheſt for the peoples alms, a cloth and cuſhion for the pulpit. They ſhall alſo provide bread and wine for the the *Communion*; and ſhall ſee that the ſeats and benches be well fitted for the conveniency of the Miniſter and of the people, with the advice and counſell of the Miniſter, and ſhall look to the rents and revenues of the Churches treaſure.

IV.

4. The ſaid Church-wardens ſhall be enjoyned to keep a good and true accompt both of their diſburſments or receipts, and of the employment which they have made of the money iſſuing out of the Church treaſury, which ſhall from time to time be publiſhed according to the cuſtome, and of that alſo which is remaining in the hands of them, or of the Overſeers of the poor. They ſhall employ the ſaid treaſure in things neceſſary and fitting for the Church and the common good, guiding themſelves by the direction of their Miniſter, and the principall of the pariſh in ſuch extraordinary matters as concern the Pariſh. In caſe of publick buſineſſe, the aſſembly of the Eſtates ſhall preſcribe them, what they think expedient for the common profit; and before they quit their charge, they ſhall give notice to the Pariſhioners in the *Eaſter* week to hear their accounts, which ſhall paſſe under the hands of the Miniſter and the chief of the Pariſh; if any of the ſaid Pariſhioners or others ſhall refuſe to pay the moneys which they owe to the ſaid treaſury; the ſaid Church-wardens and Overſeers or any of them, ſhall proſecute the law againſt them. In caſe of any controverſie about the ſaid accounts or abuſe to be reformed, the *Dean* and Miniſter of the Pariſh where the ſaid controverſie or abuſe ſhall be, together with the Bailiffe and Juſtices ſhall determine of it as is moſt convenient.

V.

5. The ſaid Church-wardens on the Sunday during Divine ſervice ſhall ſearch in places ſuſpected for games or riot, and having the Conſtables for their aſſiſtants, ſhall ſearch alſo into Alehouſes, and houſes of miſdemeanor.

VI.

6. They ſhall be careſull, that there be no detention or concealment of any thing appertaining to the Church, and ſhall alſo ſeiſe into their hands all goods and legacies moveable given unto the Church, or to the poor, according to the cuſtome of the Country.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Collectors and Sides-men.

THere ſhall be two *Collectors* for the poor appointed in every Pariſh, which alſo ſhal diſcharge the place of *Sidesmen* or Aſſiſtants; who ſhall be choſen as the *Church-wardens* are, and ſhall take an oath to carry themſelves well in the ſaid office, and to give an account of their Stewardſhip twice a year, before the Miniſter and the Pariſhioners, *viz.* at *Eaſter* and at *Michaelmas*.

CHAP. X.

Of Clerks and Sextons.

Article I.

1. THe *Clerks* and *Sextons* of Pariſhes ſhall be choſen by the Miniſter and the principall of the Pariſh; men of the age of twenty years at the leaſt, of good life and converſation, able to read fairly, diſtinctly, and underſtandingly, and to write alſo, and fitted ſomewhat for the ſinging of the Pſalmes, if it may be.

2. Their

II.

2. Their charge is, by the ringing of a Bell, to call the people to Divine ſervice, and the hearing of the Word, at the proper and ordinary hours; to keep the Church locked and clean, as alſo the Pulpit and the ſeats, to lay up the Books and other things belonging to the Church committed to their truſt, to provide water againſt the Chriſtnings, to make ſuch proclamations as are enjoyned them by the Court or by the Miniſter. And ſhal receive their ſtipend and wages by the contribution of the Pariſhioners, be it in Corn or money, according to the cuſtome of the place.

CHAP. XI.

Of School maſters.

Article I.

1. THere ſhall be a *School maſter* in every Pariſh, choſen by the Miniſter, Church wardens, and other principall perſons therein, and afterwards preſented unto the *Dean* to be licenced thereunto. Nor ſhall it be lawfull for any one to take upon him this charge, not being in this manner called unto it. The Miniſters ſhall have the charge of viſiting the *Schooles*, to exhort the Maſters to their duty.

II.

2. They ſhall accuſtome themſelves with diligence and painfulneſſe to teach the children to read and to write, to ſay their prayers and to anſwer in the Catechiſmes; they ſhall inſtruct them in good manners, they ſhall bring them unto Sermons, and to Common-prayers, and there ſee them quietly and orderly demean themſelves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Court Eccleſiaſticall.

Article I.

1. THe *Court* ſhall be holden every Munday in the year, obſerving the ſame vacations as the *Courts Civill.*

II.

2. At every Seſſion, in the beginning of it, the names of the Aſſeſſors ſhall be inrolled, the day, the moneth and the year, and the decrees peruſed.

III.

3. After judgment and ſentence given in the main matter, the coſts of the parties, and the wages of the officers ſhall be awarded by cenſure Eccleſiaſtick.

IV.

4. There ſhall be two *Proctors* duely ſworn unto the Court, to the end, the people may proceed formally and juridically, without any confuſion or ſurpriſe. And the *Regiſter* (being alſo ſworn) ſhall faithfully record the ſentences pronounced, and give copies of the Acts to ſuch as do require it.

V.

5. The Kings *Atturney*, or in his abſence the *Solliciter*, ſhall be aſſiſtant in the Court from time to time in the awarding of puniſhment, or cenſure upon all cauſes of *crime* and *ſcandall.*

VI.

6. For the ſerving of citation and ſummons, the *Dean* ſhall ſwear the *Sextons* of every Pariſh, together with an *Apparitour*, which ſhall truly diſcharge themſelves in giving copies

copies of the originall proces and citation unto those whom it concerns, or in the absence of the party, to his servants. In which proces and citations, the causes of their appearance shall be expressed.

VII.

7. If the party will not be found, as either hiding himself, or using any other colluſion, the citation shall be affixed (in case that he have never an house) on the Church door of the Parish where he dwelleth, and that upon a Sunday.

VIII.

8. If it come unto the notice of the *Dean* by the report of honest men, that any one hath doth live notoriously scandalous, he shall advertise the Minister and Church-wardens of the Parish, to the end, that being thus informed, they may present such persons as merit to be punished, or censured.

IX.

9. Upon good notice of a crime committed by any of the Ministers, the *Dean* after two warnings or admonitions, shall proceed to the reforming of him, by the advice and consent of two of his brethren, even unto *suspension* and *sequestration*. And in case he continue refractory, the *Dean* by the consent of the major part of Ministers, shall proceed to *deprivation*.

X.

10. No *commutation* shall be made in lieu of penance, without great circumspection, and regard had unto the quality of the persons and circumstances of the crime. And the *commutation* shall be inrolled in the Acts of the Court, to be imployed upon the poor, and in pious uses; whereof an account shall be given according to the Register.

11. After

XI.

11. After the first default, the non-appearance of the party again cited shall be reputed as a contempt; if being after peremptorily cited he doth not appear, then shall they proceed against him by *excommunication*; and if before the next Court day he endevour not to obtain *absolution*, they shall proceed to the publishing of the sentence of the minor *excommunication*, which shal be delivered to the Minister of the Parish to be read upon some solemn day and in the hearing of the greater part of the Parishioners. The party still continuing in his *contumacy*, they shall then proceed unto the major *excommunication*; whereby he shall be excluded *a sacris & societate fidelium*. If this bring him not unto obedience and acknowledgement within the space of forty dayes, then shall the *Dean* by his certificate *authentick* give notice unto the *Bailiff* and *Justices* of the said *contumacy*, requiring their assistance to seise on him, and commit him prisoner to some sure place till he be humbled, and shall give surety that he will submit unto the ordinance of the Church; and before that he be absolved, he shall be bound to defray the costs and charges of the suit.

XII.

12. In cases of *incontinency* upon presentment of the Churchwardens, together with the *probabilities* of a common *fame*, *scandall* and presumptions in this case requisite, the party shall undergo the purgation upon oath, or else shall be reputed as convict.

XIII.

13. In causes of *Adultery*, at the instance of the party, the proceedings shall go on advisedly by good proofs and informations, even to evidence of the crime objected; and if the matter or evidence of fact be clear, they may proceed to separation *a thoro & mensa*.

XIV.

14. He that shall offend in point of calumny and diffamation,

tion, ſhall make acknowledgment of the injury according to the exigence of the caſe, provided that the buſineſs be followed within the compaſſe of the year, and that the matter of it be of Eccleſiaſticall cogniſance in the crimes above recited.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Appeales.

Article I.

1. *Appeales* in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhall be heard and determined by the reverend father in God the Biſhop of *Winton* in perſon, and if that See be void, by the moſt reverend father in God, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in perſon.

II.

2. All *Appeales* ſhall be exhibited within fifteen dayes after notice taken of the ſentence, and the party ſhall be conſtrained to take or write out the whole proces, at it is upon the Regiſter or Rols of Court; which Acts of the ſaid Court ſhall be delivered to him in forme and time convenient, under the ſeal of the office, and the *Appellant* ſhall purſue the action within a year and a day, *aut ſententiæ latæ ſtare compellitur.*

III.

3. It ſhall not be lawfull to appeal untill after the *definitive* ſentence, unleſſe in theſe two caſes, *viz.* either when the *Interlocutory* is ſuch as puts an end unto the buſineſſe, or elſe when the ſaid *interlocutory* being obeyed brings ſuch irreparable damage to the party, that he cannot help himſelf by his *Appeal.*

A Table of the Fees appertaining to the *Dean* and his Officers in all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

FOr the proving of a Will where the goods of the deceaſed exceed not the value of five pound. To the Dean 0. To the Regiſter for writing and recording it *6 d.*

For the approving of a Will above the value of 5 *l.* To the Dean 2 *s.* To the Regiſter or Notary 1 *s.*

For a Letter of *adminiſtration* where the goods of the deceaſed exceed not the value of 5 *l. de claro.* To the Dean 0. To the Regiſter for writing it *6 d.*

For a Letter of *adminiſtration* above that value. To the Dean 1 *s.* To the Regiſter 1 *s.*

For the regiſtring an *Inventory* of the goods of *minors*, where the ſaid *inventory* exceedeth not the value of 5 *l.* To the Dean 0. To the Regiſter 4 *d.*

For the regiſtring of *Inventories* exceeding the value of 5 *l.* To the Dean 2 *s.* To the Regiſter 1 *s.*

For an *authentick* copy of the ſaid *Wils*, *Inventories* or *Letters of adminiſtration.* To the Dean for his ſeal *6 d.* To the Regiſter *6 d.*

For proceſſe compulſory to bring in the Wils 1 *s.*

For Licences of marriage. To the Dean 3 *s.*

For the ſequeſtration of the profits of a Benefice. To the Dean *6 s.*

For the induction of a Miniſter. To the Dean 3 *s.*

For proces and citations. To the Dean 2 *d. ob.* To the Notary 1 *d. qa.* To the Apparitor for ſerving the Proces and Citations 3 *d.* To the Sexton for ſerving a Citation within the Pariſh 1 *d. qa.*

For abſolution from the *minor excommunication.* To the Dean 1 *s.* To the Notary 2 *d. ob.* To the Apparitor 2 *d. ob.*

For abſolution from the *major excommunication.* To the Dean 2 *s.* To the Notary 2 *d ob.* To the Apparitor *6 d.*

In cauſes *Litigious*, the party overthrown ſhall pay the fees and duties of the Officers, and for the *authentick* writing. To the party 4 *d.* as alſo to every witneſſe produced in Court 4 *d.*

To

To the Proctors of the Court for every cause they plead 6 *d.*
To the Notary for every instrument entred in the Court 1 *d. qa.*
To him for every first default in Court 1 *d. qa.*
To him in case of *contumacy* 4 *d.*

"According whereunto it is ordained that neither the "*Dean* nor his successors, nor any of his officers, either directly "or indirectly, shall demand, exact, or receive of the Inhabi- "tants of the said Isle, any other fees or duties, then such as "are specified in the table above written. And it is further "ordained, that whatsoever hath been done or put in exe- "cution in the said Isle, on any causes, and by virtue of any "Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, shall be forthwith abrogated; "to the end, that it may not be drawn into example by the "said Dean, or any of his successors in the times to come, "contrary to the tenure of these Canons at this present made "and established; but that all their proceedings be limited "and fitted to the contents of the said Canons and Consti- "tutions Ecclesiastical. Also that there be no hindrance "or impeachment made by the Civill Magistrate unto the "said *Dean* and his successors in the peaceable execution of "the said jurisdiction contained in the said Canons, as being "nothing prejudiciall to the priviledges and customes of "the said Isle, from which it is not our purpose at all to "derogate. Given (as before said) under our signet at our "Court at *Greenwich*, on the last day of *June*, in the year of "our Reign of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, the one and twen- "tieth, and of *Scotland* the six and fiftieth.

Chap. VIII.

(1) *For what cauſe it pleaſed his Majeſty to begin with* Jarſey. (2) *A repreſentation of ſuch motives whereon the like may be effected in the Iſle of* Guernzey. (3) *The indignity done by a Miniſter hereof to the Church of* England. (4) *The calling of the Miniſters in ſome reformed Churches how defenſible.* (5) *The circumſtances both of time and perſons how ready for an alteration.* (6) *The grievances of the Miniſtery againſt the Magiſtrates.* (7) *Propoſals of ſuch means as may be fitteſt in the managing of this deſign.* (8) *The ſubmiſſion of the Author and the work unto his Lordſhip. The concluſion of the whole. Our return to* England.

I Now am come unto the fourth and laſt part of this diſcourſe, intended once to have been framed by way of ſuit unto your Lordſhip, in the behalf of the other Iſland not yet weaned from the breaſts of their late mother of *Geneva*. But finding that courſe not capable of thoſe particulars which are to follow; I choſe rather to purſue that purpoſe by way of declaration. My ſcope and project, to lay before your Lordſhip ſuch reaſons which may encite you to make uſe of that favour which moſt worthily you have attained to with his Majeſty, in the reduction of this Iſle of *Guernzey* to that antient order by which it formerly was guided, and wherein it held moſt conformity with the Church of *England*. Before I enter on with argument, I ſhall remove a doubt which might be raiſed about this

this buſineſſe; as *viz.* For what cauſe his late moſt excellent Majeſty proceeded to this alteration in one Iſland, not in both; and being reſolved to try his forces on the one only; why he ſhould rather ſort out *Jarſey*. A doubt without great difficulty to be cleared. For had his Majeſty attempted both at once, the Miniſters of both Iſlands had then communicated counſels, banded themſelves in a league, and by a mutuall encouragement continued more peremptory to their old *Mumpſimus*. It is an antient principle in the arts of Empire, *Divide & impera*; and well noted by the *State-hiſtorian*, that nothing more advantaged the affaires of *Rome* in *Britaine*, then that the natives never met together to reaſon of the common danger. *Ita dum ſinguli pugnabant, univerſi vincebantur.* And on the other ſide his Majeſty foreſaw for certain, that if one Iſland once were taken off, the other might with greater eaſe be perſwaded to conforme. Being reſolved then to attempt them ſingle, there was good reaſon why he ſhould begin with *Jarſey* firſt, as unto which he was to ſend a new Governour, not yet ingaged unto a party, and pliable to his inſtructions. Whereas Sir *Tho. Leighton* ſtill continued in his charge at *Guernzey*, who having had ſo main a hand in the introduction of the Platforme, could not be brought with any ſtomach to intend an alteration of his own counſels.

But not to loſe my ſelf in the ſearch of Princes counſels, which commonly are too far removed from vulgar eyes, let us content our ſelves with knowing the event; which was, that by his means the Iſle of *Jarſey* was reduced unto a Diſcipline conformable to that of *England*, and thereby an eaſie way for the reforming alſo that in *Guernzey*. For the accompliſhment of which deſigne, may it pleaſe your Lordſhip to take notice of theſe reaſons following, by which it is within my hopes, your Lordſhip poſſibly may be perſwaded to deal in it. *A Jove principium.*

And here (as in a Chriſtian duty I am bound) I propoſe unto your Lordſhip in the firſt place, the honour which will redound unto the Lord in this particular, by the reſtoring of a *Diſcipline* unto the ſmalleſt *Oratory* of his Church,

which you assure your self to be most answerable to his holy word, and to the practice of those blessed spirits the *Apostles*. For why may not I say unto your Lordship, as *Mardochæus* once to *Hester*, though the case be somewhat different, *Who knoweth whether you be come unto these dignities, for such a time as this?* And why may it not be said of you even in the application unto this particular designment, *That unto whom so much is given, of him also shall much be required*? Private exployts and undertakings are expected even from private persons. But God hath raised up you to publick honours, and therefore looks that you should honour him in the advancement and undertaking of such counsels as may concern his Church in publick. And certainly, if (as I verily perswade my self) your counsels tend unto the peace and glory of the Church; the Church, I mean, whereof you are so principall a member: You shall not easily encounter with an object, whereon your counsels may be better busied. So strangely do these men disgrace your blessed Mother, *and lay her glory in the dust*. Two instances hereof I shall present unto your Lordship to set the better edge on your proceedings, though otherwise I had forborne to meddle with particulars. It pleased his Majesty for the assurance of these Islands, to send into each of them two Companies of Souldiers, which were equally distributed. But such was the peevish obstinacy of one of the Ministers of this *Guernzey*, that he would not allow their Minister to read prayers unto them in his Church, at such times when himself and people did not use it. At last on much entreaty he was contented to permit it, but with expresse condition, that he should not either read the *Litany*, or administer the *Communion*. Since when, as often as they purpose to receive the Sacrament, they have been compelled to ferry over to the Castle, and in the great hall there celebrate the holy *Supper*. As little is our Church beholding to them in her *Festivals*, as in her *Liturgie*. For whereas, at the Town of St. *Peters* on the Sea, they have a Lecture every Thursday, upon which day the Feast of Christs Nativity was solemnized with us in *England*, *anno* 1623. the same party chose rather to put off the Sermon for

for that time, then that any the smal lest honour might reflect upon the day. *O curvæ in terris animæ, & cœlestium inanes.* An oppositon far more superstitious then any ceremony, observation of a day, though meerly *Jewish*.

Next to the honour due to God and to his Church, is that which all of us are obliged to tender to our Princes, as being Gods by office, and *nursing fathers* of that Church whereof they are. Therefore I represent in the next rank unto your Lordship a consideration of the honour which you shall here in do unto your Kings. To the one, your late Master of happy memory, who gave you first his hand to guide you unto greatnesse, in the pursuit of his intendments. So glorious were the purposes of that Heroick Prince, for the secure and flourishing tranquillity of Gods holy Church, that certainly it were impiety if any of them be permitted to miscarry. To the other our now gratious Soveraign, who hath doubled the promotions conferred upon you by his father; in being an author to him of those thoughts which may so much redound unto his glory; the rather, because, in case his Majesty should find a time convenient to go forward in his Fathers project, of reducing all the Churches *Protestant* unto one *Discipline* and *Liturgie*; there might not an objection thwart him, drawn from home. Otherwise it may perhaps be u to him by some of those which do not fancy the proposall as *Demades* once to *Philip*, ἢ πάνυ σοὶ σεσάπκει Φίλιππε κήδεσθαι τ Ελλάδος, &c. That first he might do well to compose the differences in his own dominions, before he motion a conformity to others. At the least, he may be sure to look for this reply from *Scotland*, when ever he proposeth to them the same businesse. The Ministers of *Jarsey*, as before I have shown your Lordship, denyed admission to the book of Common-prayer, as not imposed upon the *Scots*; with better reason may the *Scots* refuse to entertain it, as not imposed on those of *Guenzey*.

Besides the honour due to God, the Church, and to the King, there is an honour next in order to the calling of the Priest. A calling, as much stomached in generall by all that party, so most especially reviled by those amongst our selves for *Antichristian*, tyrannous, a divelish ordinance, a bastardly

govern-

government, and the like. Nor do I think that those of *Guernzey* are better affected to it, though more moderate in professing their dislike: for did they but approve the hierarchy of Bishops, they would not then proceed so unwarrantably as now they do, in the ordination of their Ministers. I cal it unwarrantable proceeding, because the lawful and ordinary door of entrance unto the Ministery, was never shut unto this people; and therefore their preposterous entry upon this sacred calling, either by the *back-door* or by the *window*, the more unanswerable. Whereas it may be pleaded in the behalf of those in some parts beyond the seas, that they could not meet with any Bishops which would give them *ordination*, unlesse they would abjure the Gospell as they then profest it, and therefore that necessity compelled them to the private way of *imposing hands* on one another. In which particular, the case of some reformed Churches, may not unfitly be resembled unto that of *Scipio*, as it is related to us in the third book of *Valerius Max. cap.* 7. upon some want of money for the furtherance of the necessary affaires of state, he demanded a supply from the common treasury. But when the *Questor* pretending that it was against the Lawes, refused to open it, himself a private person, seised the Keyes, *Patefacto ærario legem utilitati cedere coegit*; and over-ruled the Law by the advancement of the Weal publick. In like manner (which is I think the most and best that can be said in this behalf) to promote the reformation of Religion, many good men made suit to be supplyed out of the common treasury, to be admitted to the preaching of the word according to the ordinary course of *ordination*; which when it was denied them by the *Questors* or *Prelates* of those dayes; they chose rather to receive it at the hands of private and inferior Priests, then that the Church should be unfurnished. This may be said for them, which in excuse of those of *Guernzey* can never be alleadged; whose continuall recourse unto these *private keyes* is done upon no other reason then a dislike of that high calling to which your Lordship is advanced; which therefore you are bound, if not to punish in them, yet to rectifie.

Two other reasons yet there are which may invite your Lordship to this undertaking, though not so weighty or of that

that importance as the former. The one, that the remainders of that party here at home, may not be hardned in their obſtinacy; the other, that thoſe of *Jarſey*, be not diſcouraged in their ſubmiſſion and conformity. I have already ſhewn unto your Lordſhip, that the brethren here in *England*, never made head againſt the Church, till the permiſſion of platforme in theſe Iſlands. After which, with what violence they did aſſaile the hierarchy, what clamorus they continually raiſed againſt the Prelates, what ſuperſtitions and impieties they imputed to our *Liturgy*; *notius eſt quam ut ſtylo egeat*, is too wel known to be related. If ſo, then queſtionleſs it cannot but confirme them in their new devices, to ſee them ſtill permitted to this Iſle. Nor can they think themſelves but wronged, that ſtill they are contrould and cenſured for the maintenance of that diſcipline, which is by Soveraign authority allowed and licenſed; though in other places, yet in the ſame dominions. And on the other ſide, your Lordſhip may conceive how juſt a cauſe of diſcontent and of repining it may be to thoſe of *Jarſey*; when they ſhall dayly hear it thundred from the Coaſts of *France*, that faintly they have ſold themſelves to bondage; whereas the faithfull zelots in the Iſle of *Guernzey*, doe ſtill preſerve themſelves in liberty. *Vel neutrum flammis ure, vel ure duos*, as the Lover in *Auſonius*.

From my firſt rank of motives here preſented to your Lordſhip, which I may moſt properly call *motives neceſſary*, and in reſpect unto the cauſe; I come next to thoſe of an other quality, which I call *motives* of *conveniency*, and in relation to the time. For queſtionleſſe the time is at this preſent more convenient for the accompliſhment of this work, then ever we may hope to ſee hereafter; whether we conſider it in reference unto our Kingdome, or to the *Diſcipline* it ſelf, or to the Governour, or to the people of both ſorts, the Clergy and the Magiſtrates.

For firſt, there is at this inſtant, an eſtabliſhed peace between it and *France*, concluded on while we were in theſe Iſlands, and publiſhed immediately on our coming home; which Realm only carryeth a covetous and watchfull eye upon thoſe Iſlands. Were it between us, as it lately was, nothing but wars and depredations; the alteration then perhaps might

be unsafe, it being alwayes dangerous to discontent or charge that Nation, upon whose loyalty we must rely. Nor can I tell unto what desperate and undutifull practises, the furious heat of some few Preachers may possibly excite a multitude; when come the worst that can, there is an enemy at hand that will subscribe to any articles. But now tis peace, and how long peace will hold, is not easie to determine, depending as it doth, upon the will and pleasure of another.

If, in the second place, we look upon the *Discipline* it self, we shall find it well prepared, and ready for a change. For whereas it is ordered in their *Canons* (if I so may call them) that the errours of the *Consistory* shall be corrected by the *Colloquie*, those of the *Colloquie*, by the *Synod*; by the departure of *Jarsey* from them, they have no way of further *Synods*, and therefore no redresse of grivances. So then either the sentence of the *Colloquie* must be unalterable, which is expresly contrary to the platforme; or else there must be granted some other *jurisdiction* to have power above them, whereby their censures may be moderated. The first of these would estate their *Colloquies* in a tyranny more prevalent and binding, then the chair of *Rome* so much complained of. The other openeth a way for the entrance of *Episcopall* authority, for the admission of *Appeals*, for the directions of their proceedings. Add hereunto, that at this time they have a noble Governour, no friend I am assured to any of that party; and such a one which gladly would resign those rights of old belonging to the *Deanry*, when ever it shall please his Majesty to restore that dignity unto the Island. A Peer so perfectly known unto your Lordship and to all the Kingdom, that I need not say more of him, then that which once *Velleius* did of *Junius Blæsus*, *Vir nescias an utilior Castris, vel melior toga*. It were a matter of no ordinary study to determine, whether he be more able in the *Campe* or *Senate*.

But in alterations, such as these, the fancy and affection of the people is principally to be attended, as those whom such *mutations* most properly concern; wherein I find all things made ready to your Lordships hand, if you vouchsafe to set it forwards. The Magistrates and more understanding people of the Isle, offended with the severe and unsociable carriage of the

the *Conſiſtories*, eſpecially of late, ſince the unlimited Empire of the *Colloquie* hath made that government unſufferable. Before they had enough to keep themſelves from cenſure, and their houſes from the diligence of *Conſiſtoriall* ſpies; when yet there was an higher Court wherein there was ſome hope of remedy. But there being none to appeal from in the *Conſiſtory*, but thoſe which wil condemn them in the *Colloquie*, they undergo the yoak with much clamour, but with more ſtomach. A ſtomach which eſtſoones they ſpare not to diſgorge upon them, as often, *viz.* as they come within the compaſſe of their Courts, either in way of puniſhment or cenſure. On the other ſide the Miniſters exclaime againſt the Magiſtrates, as preſuming too far above their latchet; pretending that by them their *Diſcipline* hath been infringed, their priviledges violated, and their Miniſtery interrupted. Matters that have not been repined at only in a corner, but publickly preſented as on the Theater, and complained of to their Governours. For at my Lord of *Danbies* being there, they articled againſt the Magiſtrates for invading the *Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction*; as *viz.* that they take upon them to diſſolve *contracts* made in the preſence of the Miniſter, and with an invocation of the name of God, which in judgment of the *Diſcipline* (*Chap.* 12. 1.) are *undiſſoluble*. That they had intermedled with the adminiſtration of holy *Baptiſme*, a duty meerly ſpirituall. That they had ſeiſed upon the treaſures of the Church in ſome places, and diſpoſed of them at their pleaſure. That they had cauſed the Miniſters to be impriſoned, and there detained them for a long time, to their great diſcomfort, and the hazard of their *flocks*. And laſtly that they had deprived them of the liberty of Natives in denying them their ſuffrages for the election of the *Curates*. Other grievances there were, but theſe the principall. True it is, that upon due examination of particulars, it did appear that the Magiſtrates had more reaſon in their actions, then the Miniſters in their complaints. But not having been accuſtomed to the like uſage, they do eſteem it a thraldome ſo incompetent and unſupportable, that I perſwade my ſelf they ſooner would reſolve to yeeld to any courſe, then have their doings croſt by that *tribunall*. Sure I am, when they found ſo ſmall redreſſe for theſe (as they

conceived) great oppreſſions, they made petition to his Lordſhip to bethink himſelf on ſome other way for their relief, and laboured to procure me to be their Mediator to his Lordſhip in it.

Theſe circumſtances alſo happily concurring, portend, in my opinion, as great an alteration in this ſtate *Eccleſiaſticall*, as the conjunction of ſome powerfull Planets doth ſometimes upon the temporall. And if your Lordſhip ſhould be wanting now unto preſent opportunity, it may be ſuch a confluence of preparatives and helps may hardly be met withall hereafter. Preſuming therefore, that your Lordſhip will not neglect the advantage offered, I ſhould next proceed unto thoſe means which might beſt be uſed in the effecting of this work; but what were this but to read a lecture of the wars to *Hannibal*, to play a part on the Stage in the ſight of *Roſcius*? For whether your Lordſhip ſhall think moſt fit to treat firſt of it with my Lord the Governour, that he may make plain the way before you, and facilitate the buſineſſe; or whether it may be thought moſt proper, that ſome negotiate with the people and the *Jurates*, to commence a ſuit in this behalf unto the Councell; or whether that the Miniſters themſelves, in this conjuncture of time, oppreſſed, as they conceive it, by the Civill Magiſtrates encroaching on them, may not with great facility be perſwaded to ſollicite for a change; who can ſo well determine as your Lordſhip, whom long experience and naturall abilities have made perfect in theſe arts? Only let me beſeech your Lordſhips leave to enjoy mine own folly, and for a while to act my part, to read my lecture, though *Hannibal* and *Roſcius* be in preſence.

At ſuch time as by the Miniſters his Lordſhip was petitioned to reſolve upon ſome courſe for their relief; they made requeſt to me to ſollicite for them their deſires, to be a remembrancer for them to his Lordſhip. To which I anſwered, that I could direct them in a way which ſhould for ever free them from that yoak which ſo much they feared, and if they would vouchſafe to ſee my Chamber, I would there impart it. A motion not made unto the wals, or loſt in the propoſall; for down unto my Lodging they deſcended, and there we joyned our ſelves in Councell. The Petitioners were five in number,

viz.

viz. De la March, *Millet*, *Perchard*, *Picote*, and *De la Place*; my ſelf alone, and not provided (ſave in Wine and Sider) for their entertainment. But as *Lactantius* in an equall caſe, *Neceſſe eſt, ut me cauſæ bonitas faciat eloquentem*; preſuming on the goodneſſe of my cauſe, but more upon their ignorance, I was reſolved to bid them battail. Immediately upon the opening of the Counſell, I was importuned my opinion; whereto I freely made them anſwer, the only courſe whereby they might ſubſiſt entire and free from bondage, was to addreſs themſelves to his Majeſty for the reſtitution of the *Dean*. But this ſay they is Phyſick worſe then the diſeaſe; and thereupon the battails began to joyn with greater violence; with violence it was, and therefore (as we are inſtructed in *Philoſophy*) of no long continuance; for preſently upon the firſt encounter their ranks were broken, and their forces diſunited. *Picote* for his part proteſted, that he had alwayes been an enemy to *Lay Elders*, and that he could not ſee by what authority of Scripture they were permitted in the Churches. *Perchard* was well enough content, that the diſpenſing of the poor mans box might be committed unto others, and that the *Deacons* as being a degree or ſtep unto the Miniſtery, might be employed about the treaſures of ſalvation. *Millet* ſtood ſilent all the while, and as I think reſerved himſelf to try the fortune of another day. *De la March* and *De la Place* (this *De la Place* is he who abandoned *Jarſey* upon his failing of the *Deanſhip*) what they could not make good by reaſon, ſupplied by obſtinacy. In my life I never knew men more willing to betray a cauſe, or leſſe able to maintain it. My inference hereupon is this, that if his Majeſty ſhould ſignifie unto them, that it is his royall pleaſure to admit a *Dean* among them, or elſe repair unto the Court to give a reaſon of their refuſall; they ſooner would forſake and quit their cauſe, then either be reſolved to agree about it, or venture to defend it. If I were ſure to make no uſe of *Logick*, till theſe men ſhal run the hazard of a *diſputation*, I would preſently go and burn my *Ariſtotle*.

To draw unto an end, for I have been too tedious to your Lordſhip. Before I pluck off my diſguiſe and leave the ſtage whereon I act, I could me thinks add ſomewhat here about the choicing of a man moſt fit for this authority. In which

particular, as I ſtand well affected to *Perchard*, for a moderate and quiet man, ſo hath he alſo a good repute in all the Iſland, both for his vein of Preaching, his liberall hoſpitality, and plauſible demeanor. Or if your Lordſhip think a forainer more fit, there being now the Pariſh of St. *Saviours* void, and ſo full room for that *induction*, I durſt propoſe to you *Olivier* of *Jarſey*; a man which I perſwade my ſelf, I may ſay ſafely, not inferiour unto any of both Iſlands in point of Scholarſhip, and well affected to the *Engliſh* form of Government. Add to this that already he is acquainted with the nature of the place, as having executed the office of the *Commiſſary* or *Subdean*, ever ſince the introduction of the charge, and therefore not to ſeek in the managing and cariage of his juriſdiction. But good God! what follies do we dayly run into, when we conceive our ſelves to be diſguiſed, and that our actions are not noted? It is therefore high time for me to unmaske my ſelf, and humbly crave your Lordſhips pardon, that under any habit I ſhould take upon me to adviſe. A further *plaudite* then this I do not ſeek for, then that you will vouchſafe to excuſe my boldneſſe, though not allow it: the rather becauſe a zeal unto the beauteous uniformity of the Church did prompt me to it. But this, and this diſcourſe, ſuch as it is, I conſecrate unto your Lordſhip; for whoſe honour, next under Gods, I have principally purſued this argument. For my ſelf, it will be unto me ſufficient glory, that I had any, though the leaſt, hand in ſuch a pious work; and ſhall be happy, if in this, or in any other your Lordſhips counſels for the Churches peace, I may be worthy of imployment. Nor need your Lordſhip fear, that in the proſecution of this project, you may be charged with an innovation. To purſue this purpoſe is not to introduce a *novelty* but to reſtore a *Diſcipline*, to revive the perfect ſervice of God, which ſo long hath been, to ſay the beſt of it, in a *Lethargy*, and to make the *Jeruſalem* of the *Engliſh Empire*, like a *City which is at unity within it ſelf.*

Sic

Sic nova dum condis, revocas (vir summe) priora;
Debentur quæ sunt, quæque fuere tibi.
Si priscis servatur honos te Præside, templis;
Et casa tam culto sub Jove numen habet.

Thus (Reverend Lord) to you,
Churches both old and new
Do owe themselves; since by your pious care
New ones are built, and old ones in repaire.
Thus by your carefull zeal
Unto the Churches weal,
As the old *Temples* do preserve their glories,
So private houses have their *Oratories.*

It is now time to acquaint your Lordship with the successe and safety of our return; all things being done and fully setled for the peace and security of those Islands, which was the only cause of our voyage thither. Concerning which, your Lordship may be pleased to know in a word, that the crosnesse of the winds and roughnesse of the water, detained us some dayes longer in *Castle Cornet*, then we had intended; but at the last, on Thursday *Aprill* 2. being *Maundy Thursday*, *anno* 1629. we went aboard our Ships, and hoised sail for *England*. It was full noon before we were under sail, and yet we made such good way, that at my waking the next morning, we were come neer the Town of *Peal*, and landed safely the same day in the Bay of *Teichfeild*, where we first took Ship; his Lordship being desirous to repose himself with the said Mr. *Bromfeild*, till the Feast of *Easter* being passed over might render him more capable to pursue his Journey.

And now I am safely come into my Countrey, where according to the custome of the Antients, I offer up my thanksgiving to the God of the waters, and testifie before

fore his Altars the gratefull acknowledgement of a ſafe voyage and a proſperous return, bleſſings which I never merited.

——— Me tabula ſacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suſpendiſſe potenti
Veſtimenta maris Deo.

My *Votive Table* on the Sacred wall
Doth plainly teſtifie to all,
That I thoſe *gratefull vowes* have paid,
Which in the tumults of the *deep* I made,
To him that doth the Seas command,
And holds the waters in his hand.

The End of the Laſt Book, and the Second Journey.